Daily Report

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Perfilyev Conducts 25 Sep News Briefing

Praises Wyoming Talks Results

LD2509160389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1513 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Sep (TASS)—Now, when the USSR and the United States have come to an arrangement on conducting another summit-level meeting, the Soviet-U.S. dialogue has entered a new stage. Its sense lies in the fact that the process of mutual adaptation with the new U.S. Administration has successfully ended, and now good groundwork for cooperation with it has already been worked out, said Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, at a briefing today. The forthcoming meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush may well become one of the richest in content in the history of Soviet-U.S. relations, he added.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that the meeting between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker which has ended in the United States did not confound the hopes placed in it, and to some extent possibly even exceeded them. Having noted the importance of results in disarmament, the understanding reached on a number of regional problems, and the progress on difficult and previously extremely controversial questions of bilateral relations, he said: "All in all, the sides took a great step towards each other."

Notes 'Honest' Gorbachev-Thatcher Talks

LD2509161289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1511 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Sep (TASS)—The working visit to the USSR of Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of Great Britain, has convincingly shown that any upheavals and exacerbations arising in the relations between two countries recede before principled, significant dialogue, said Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the briefing today.

If one is to convey the atmosphere at the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher, the Foreign Ministry spokesman went on to say, then it can be described as an honest, informal, and in- depth exchange of views on the entire spectrum of the questions touched upon.

The results of Margaret Thatcher's visit to the USSR create a favorable background for further consolidation of the positive trends that have taken shape in recent years in international relations, such as the radical reduction in the level of military confrontation, the ousting of mistrust and suspicion from international relations, and the replacement of confrontation with peaceful cooperation between all states, however different their social systems.

The USSR expects, Vadim Perfilyev stressed, that Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Margaret Thatcher will bring a new impetus for further development of bilateral, political, and economic relations between the USSR and Great Britain, and will make it possible to overcome those temporary difficulties which have arisen in recent times. Strengthening and developing bilateral relations are in the interests of the peoples of the whole world.

Urges U.S. ROK Troop Withdrawal

LD2509161889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1507 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Sep, (TASS)— Withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea would considerably ease tension in and around the Korean peninsula and would create additional opportunities for the dialogue between the two Koreas to make headway, said Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, at the briefing which took place here today.

"Of late," he said, "voices have been heard increasingly often from Washington and Seoul alleging that the DPRK is the 'threat' to South Korea. Nor did U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle deviate from this 'tradition,' while currently in Seoul." Such statements do not facilitate the strengthening of the positive trends that have taken shape in Korean affairs, a reduction in military-political tension, or the development of a stable inter-Korean dialogue.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that the USSR refrained from doing anything that could hinder the reduction of tension in Korea. It is no secret, he noted, that the USSR and DPRK cooperate militarily. However, we must bear in mind that there are no Soviet troops on North Korean territory and that the USSR does not supply offensive weapons there. The USSR generally opposes the arms race on the Korean peninsula.

At the same time, Vadim Perfilyev pointed out, for almost 40 years there has been a major contingent of U.S. troops in South Korea, equipped with the most up-to-date weapons, including nuclear weapons. The United States' troops in South Korea are an anachronism.

Chemical Weapons Agreement 'Within Reach'

LD2509180989 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 25 TASS—A comprehensive, effectively verifiable convention on the banning and elimination of chemical weapons is within reach, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

He praised the work of an international conference of governments and industry against chemical weapons

that was held in Canberra from September 18 to September 22 and that was attended by delegations of 60 countries.

Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said the conference was marked by efforts to ensure the earlier conclusion of a convention to ban chemical weapons and its subsequent stringent observance. The spokesman said the unanimously adopted statement expresses unconditional nonacceptance of chemical war, and a negative attitude to the use of industrial products for the manufacture of chemical weapons.

An arrangement was reached for interaction outside the framework of the Geneva talks on matters connected with the future convention. It was decided to hold regular meetings open to any country to continue the dialogue.

Decries 'Murder' in Kabul

LD2509202289 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 25 TASS—A new wave of terror is sweeping Kabul. Bombardments of the Afghan capital injured 203 people between September 20 and 23, 49 were killed and 154 wounded, Soviet Foriegn Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing in the press centre on Monday.

On September 24, he said, three missiles exploded near the Soviet Embassy compound, one of them within 50 meters of the embassy.

Murder of innocent people, the Soviet spokesman stressed, has become practically the only kind of combat activity of the rebels.

Details Shevardnadze Nicaragua Visit

LD2509213689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1422 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Sep (TASS) The Soviet Union is convinced that the working visit of Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs, to Nicaragua at the beginning of October this year is an important step along the path of strengthening Soviet-Nicaraguan relations, and will serve to qualitatively raise the effectiveness and mutual benefit of bilateral relations. Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the USSR Foriegn Ministry Information Directorate, stated at a briefing today.

It is the first trip in history of a Soviet foreign minister to Nicaragua, the Foreign Ministry representative continued. This fact alone stresses the historical significance of the visit. Moreover, it coincides with a famous date—the tenth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. These relations have been brought to a new high level through joint efforts in such a short period; they are characterized by a fundamental similarity of views and evaluations of the processes taking place in the world, and by trust and broad cooperation in the commercial and economic, scientific and technical, cultural, and other spheres. There are grounds for saying that the visit is a landmark. It sums up the results of what has been achieved in Soviet-Nicaraguan political relations and is called upon to define new tasks in this sphere.

Together with an in-depth analysis of the present state and the development prospects of bilateral links, Vadim Perfeilyev continued, Eduard Shevardnadze will hold with the Nicaraguan leadership a thorough exchange of opinions on topical international problems of mutual interest.

It is quite natural that the focus of attention of the talks will be the situation in Central America, and the state and the possible prospects of settling the crisis in this region, in light of the implementation of agreements reached at the regular meeting of presidents of Central American countries held in the city of Tela (Honduras) in August this year.

Summary of News Briefing

LD2509172189 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Moscow September 25 TASS—The agreement on a new Soviet-American summit signals a new stage in bilateral dialogue, following mutual adaptation with the new U.S. Administration and joint work with it to lay the groundwork for cooperation, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said today.

The forthcoming meeting between Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush can become one of the most substantive ever, he told a briefing here.

The spokesman said that the Wyoming talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker lived up to expectations and even surpassed them in some aspects.

"On the whole, the sides each made a big stride towards each other," he added.

Commenting on British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's working visit to the USSR, he said it "has shown that any reversals and aggravations liable to crop up in relations between the two countries, are eclipsed by the dialogue's importance of principle".

Perfilyev said that the latest meeting between Gorbachev and Thatcher is expected in the Soviet Union to "provide a fresh impulse to the further development of bilateral relations".

He also said that Shevardnadze's working visit to Nicaragua early next month should mark an important step in strengthening friendly Soviet-Nicaraguan relations. [passage omitted covered in referent item]

Shevardnadze Comments on Bush's UN Speech

LD2609000589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2315 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] New York, 26 Sep (TASS)—TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov reports:

Commenting on the speech by U.S. President G. Bush at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly, Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, heading the USSR's delegation to the session, told journalists that Bush touched on a wide range of questions in the spirit of the problems which face the U.S. and all of mankind.

As for the President's specific proposals, stated the Soviet foreign minister, they will, I think, still need to be studied. But, my first reaction on the chemical weapons and some other proposals...our attitude is positive, since right from the start we have favored the complete elimination of all chemical weapons arsenals. This year's speech differed positively from the previous ones from the point of view of constructiveness and the search for mutual understanding on all the problems the world currently faces.

International Conference Opens in Vienna

LD2509222589 Moscow TASS in English 2202 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] A regular 33rd session of the general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] opened here in the Vienna "'Austria" congress center on Monday. This conference is attended by over a hundred states, including the USSR, Belorussia and the Ukraine.

The session will examine major problems of practical control over the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, deepening cooperation of states in the peaceful uses of atomic energy and ensuring a peaceful development of nuclear energetics. The participants will also elect a new director-general of the agency.

Director-General Hans Blix who spoke at the opening of the session, dwelt at length on prospects for the development of nuclear power and the agency itself. He said that in the first quarter of the 21st century mankind's need for electric power will almost double. That is why, despite an increasingly active utilisation of the renewable sources of energy, such as for instance, the sun and the wind, the nuclear power plants, given their constant increase in reliability and safety, ought to be regarded as the most acceptable sources of energy in the near future. At present there are over 400 nuclear power plants in the world which account for 17 per cent of the entire electric energy output, Blix said.

Head of the Soviet delegation Protsenko said in his speech that IAEA has to play a special role in guaranteeing implementation of the non-proliferation treaty, one of the first international legal instruments in the area of nuclear arms limitations. In the coming two years, in the process of preparing for the 1992 U.N. conference on environment and development, the IAEA must take an active part in the discussion of the world's energy and ecology problems, head of the Soviet delegation said. He drew the attention of the participants to the Soviet proposals on broader international cooperation to ensuring a safe utilisation of nuclear energy.

Polish Foreign Minister Addresses United Nations

LD2609111489 Moscow TASS in English 0834 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 26 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

Polish Foreign Minister Krysztof Skubiszewski made a speech at the general debate of the 44th U.N. General Assembly on Monday. "The key question in Polish political strategy concerns our relations with the Soviet Union. We respect the existing treaties and firmly believe in mutual respect for national interests," he said.

The minister noted that many important and favourable changes have taken place in the international arena over the past year. In this context the United Nations has an opportunity to tackle the key problems facing humanity.

In his words, these problems include easing the burden of the arms race, preventing further degradation of the environment and protecting human rights. The main priorities are the limitation of weapons, consistent cuts in nuclear weapons and the development of an efficient control system, the minister said.

The world needs new and far-reaching disarmament agreements to which all states would contribute. Such agreements should cover all types of weapons and all areas of the world. "We hold that all states, irrespective of their size and strength, are responsible for disarmament," he pointed out.

The Polish minister informed the General Assembly of the Polish Government's decision to cut the country's armed forces by 40,000 troops, 850 tanks and 900 artillery pieces by the end of 1990.

Other types of military hardware will also be cut considerably. He favoured concluding the first agreement at the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional weapons in 1990.

The minister touched on the problem of foreign debts, noting that the economic policy of the state and emergency measures, no matter how radical they are, would remain a scrap of paper if foreign debts are not reduced.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Interviewed; Assesses U.S. Talks

PM2509170589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

["IZVESTIYA Interview With E.A. Shevardnadze" by own correspondent A. Shalnev; date, place unspecified]

[Text] New York—"My meetings—in the White House with President Bush and in Wyoming with Secretary of State Baker—confirmed that Soviet-American relations have reached a qualitatively new level. This is very important, because the stable, normal development of these relations corresponds to the interests of our peoples and the interests of world civilization as a whole," Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said in an interview for IZVESTIYA.

It was a good meeting with Bush, he said. I would say it was a remarkabale conversation. Entirely open [otkrytaya] and frank [otkrovennaya]. The President repeatedly talked of his respect for Mikhail Sergeyevich and stressed his wish to have solid personal contact with him as soon as possible. It was then, in the White House, that we reached an accord in principle on a summit, but it was in Wyoming, at the talks with Baker, that the date was fixed: The meeting will take place in late spring-early summer next year. This is the most convenient, the optimal time: There is a need for the meeting and there is an opportunity for substantial preparation.

I assume that the summit will be preceded by meetings between foreign ministers—at least two. If it had been set for an earlier date, it would not be certain that we would be able to prepare thoroughly for it. Later would not suit either: Matters need to be resolved. There is another factor, too: There is a congress coming up and congress preparations. The time we have chosen is the optimal one for us and for the Americans. I do not doubt that the meeting will be a major event in world politics. All the prerequisites are there.

[Shalnev] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, can one expect the summit to be marked by the signing of an agreement on strategic offensive arms? When will we be able to achieve such an agreement?

[Shevardnadze] It is difficult to make forecasts. Much will depend on what the U.S. delegation brings to Geneva, where the talks will resume soon. It seems to me that by the summit it will be possible to agree on the main unresolved problems that are preventing an agreement from being elaborated. By and large, I am cautiously optimistic.

[Shalnev] How should one evaluate the offer made by the Soviet side at the talks in Wyoming during the discussion of the problem of nuclear and space armaments? What is it: a shift in our stance, a concession?

[Shevardnadze] It is not a concession. It is a new proposal, a fresh new approach, which paves the way for the conclusion of an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms. In the past there have forever been fruitless debates about, for example, what the "broad" interpretation of the treaty means, about ABM defense, about what the "narrow" interpretation is. We favored the "narrow" interpretation, the Americans the "broad" one. Or the question of research and tests in space. Also the object of fierce debates and profound disagreements. Now we are saying that we are prepared to sign an agreement on reducing strategic armaments even if there is no accord on space armaments by then, but on condition that the ABM Treaty is observed. We have not agreed to this in the past.

[Shalnev] But why have we agreed now?

[Shevardnadze] To ease the process of agreeing on positions on strategic offensive arms. We also proposed removing the provision on setting a term of nonwithdrawal from the ABM Treaty. We did all our sums and reached the conclusion that the ABM Treaty has no fixed term, so why, at this stage, insist on establishing a term of nonwithdrawal from the treaty.

[Shalnev] Do you think the U.S. Administration has finally settled on its policy toward the Soviet Union?

[Shevardnadze] I feel that the administration has settled on the main thrust of its foreign policy in general and its policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, in particular. Not completely, perhaps, on the question of strategic offensive arms. My meeting with Secretary of State Baker was itself substantive [predmetnyy]. Previously we had talked mainly about conceptual approaches. They studied us and we also sized them up. Now I felt that the administration's strategic review, the review of foreign policy, has either been completed or is nearing completion.

We and the United States are moving toward each other. Now we have submitted major proposals concerning nuclear arms and the ABM Treaty. The administration did not respond immediately to all of our proposals. This is logical, it does not surprise us. And if truth be told, our proposals were to a certain extent unexpected. But the fact that an exhaustive response was not forthcoming need not be overdramatized. It takes time to comprehend everything and to formulate negotiating positions. But I must say that we felt that the administration also has ideas, serious and original [neordinarnyye] ideas which require joint elaboration. Chemical weapons, nuclear tests, conventional arms, verification measures—the U.S. delegation was very well prepared on these issues. It adopted an emphatically responsible approach toward the formulation of positions at our talks. Therefore—bearing our major proposals in mind—we managed to achieve serious progress. Let me emphasize: The Americans did not come to Wyoming empty-handed.

[Shalnev] Having supported the U.S. idea of "open skies," the Soviet delegation—as I understand it—proposed expanding the "openness" and extending it to other spheres.

[Shevardnadze] Yes. Why should we establish confidence-building measures in the sky but neglect the oceans, the seas, the earth, and outer space? I outlined our proposal in general terms, without being too specific. The U.S. delegation declined to discuss the seas and oceans problems, but showed interests in the problem of the earth. But this is just the beginning of the dialogue.

[Shalnev] Regional problems. How did their discussion go? What are the results?

[Shevardnadze] We achieved greater mutual understanding on these problems, there were clearly discernible attempts to overcome the remaining differences, the element of constructiveness became more active in the talks. Both sides are clearly striving to advance from mutual understanding to collaboration. This is not a bad background for success in efforts like the ones being made, for example, by the presidents of the five Central American states.

[Shalnev] You said at the final press conference in Wyoming that the U.S. side briefed you on the measures it is taking to assist the release of Soviet servicemen who are in the hands of Afghan opposition formations? Could you go into more detail on this?

[Shevardnadze] The Americans told us that they have been in contact with the mujahidin and that a dialogue is under way with mujahidin detachments with which the Americans have relations. They assured us that these contacts and this dialogue will continue and will become specific.

[Shalnev] I would also like to ask you about your impressions of Secretary of State Baker?

[Shevardnadze] This was not our first meeting. I can draw the perfectly certain conclusion that he is a man with whom business can be done, a man who speaks openly and frankly without being carried away by rhetoric. Our conversations are held in a businesslike atmosphere. We have established a good relationship with him and this, as I see it, will help the solution of serious issues. Baker is sincerely interested in being fully aware of the processes occurring in our country. He has repeatedly told me that neither President Bush nor he make any secret of their interest in the success of perestroyka, the success of the renewal of processes, Gorbachev's success. Baker is very interested in economic and financial problems, in which he is thoroughly versed. We agreed that questions of bilateral relations, and especially economic questions, will constantly remain in our purview.

Shevardnadze Queried on Wyoming Talks

LD2509205889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Interview with Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze by B. Kalyagin in Wyoming on 25 September—recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Kalyagin] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, how do you evaluate the results of your meetings with the President and the secretary of state; what were the results of your talks?

[Shevardnadze] I evaluate this as a serious event and a significant stage in Soviet-U.S. dialogue. I feel that the results of the talks indicate that there is now greater mutual understanding. It is no accident that I said it is necessary to proceed from mutual understanding to joint action, and partnership, where this is possible. It must be said that our American colleagues, the leadership, the President, and the secretary of state agree with this. Incidentally, this also corresponds with the formula expressed by the President, who spoke of the new closeness between the United States and the USSR.

[Kalyagin] Is it possible to say that preparations for the conclusion of a treaty on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons have gotten under way?

[Shevardnadze] I think that it is possible to speak of this, in so far as very serious obstacles have now essentially been removed. It seems to me that at the talks in Geneva, it is possible to develop creative work in order to prepare the basic sections—if not the treaty in full—of such a treaty in a summit meeting, the dates of which have already been outlined, so to speak, and which we are aiming at.

[Kalyagin] Are we now able to cooperate with the U.S. Administration, not only in bilateral relations and problems of disarmament, but also in the resolution of other regional and global issues?

[Shevardnadze] Well, this is what was discussed during these 2 days. In the conversation with the President, especially here in Wyoming, we spoke about transnational problems, ecological problems, and economic problems. These problems really concern the whole world—the developing world and the developed capitalist countries. We discussed the problems of combatting drug addiction. We discussed the drugs business, terrorism, and other problems concerning all the people on the earth. It seems to me that Soviet-U.S. relations have now entered a phase where such global problems arise quite naturally on the agenda. It seems to me that the summit meeting which will take place at the end of spring and the beginning of the summer next year will be a major event in world politics. The problems you just mentioned will certainly be discussed at this meeting in a more detailed and wide-ranging manner.

Bush Expresses 'Deep Satisfaction' With Talks

LD2509185789 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 25 TASS—U.S. President George Bush expressed deep satisfaction with the results of the talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Wyoming on September 22-23.

The talks produced agreements on several important issues, including the timing for the next Soviet-U.S. summit to be held in late spring or early summer 1990, Bush told the U.N. General Assembly on Monday.

Bush said he was looking forward to meeting President Gorbachev.

In his speech he noted such global problems as the economy, environmental protection, terrorism and question of war and peace.

He urged the world community to work out an international approach and seek joint solutions to common problems.

Bush placed special emphasis on proposals aimed at stopping and reversing the threat from chemical weapons.

Military Observer Assesses Wyoming Talks

LD2509192789 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 25 TASS—By TASS military observer Vladimir Chernyshev:

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's meeting with U.S. President George Bush and his talks with Secretary of State James Baker have put the Soviet-American dialogue on a fundamentally new level. Of course, progress in disarmament is of special importance.

The Soviet side set forth new ideas and considerations helping the two sides to find mutually acceptable approaches and leading to accord and agreements on a number of major problems.

First of all, the changes in the Soviet and U.S. stands at the talks on nuclear and space armaments should be singled out. A number of obstacles to an agreement have been eliminated. One of the obstacles—the demand for a ban on mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles—was removed by the United States.

The Soviet Union came up with a new idea related to its approach to ways and problems of air-launched cruise missiles and heavy bombers should be solved.

It also raised the issue of a possible solution to the problem of sea-launched cruise missiles—not at the talks on nuclear and space armaments but in a more general context—at talks on naval armaments.

However, the most surprising and even stunning move for certain circles in the United States was the Soviet proposal on anti- ballistic missile (ABM) defences and space, which opened the way to the conclusion and implementation of a strategic arms reduction (START) treaty without concluding an agreement on space weapons.

This means that the Soviet Union is ready to sign and ratify a START treaty even if the sides have not reached agreement on the ABM problem by the time the START treaty has been worked out. This unties the main knot holding back the talks.

It should be emphasised that the Soviet attitude to the U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) remains negative and that the Soviet Union insists on the sides' compliance with the ABM Treaty in the way it was signed in 1972.

Of course, there should remain a provision given either side the right to withdraw from the START treaty if the other side does not comply with the ABM treaty.

Besides, it has been proposed that the sides at the talks on nuclear and space armaments come to a single understanding of banned and allowed activities, that is, what they are allowed to do in outer space.

The Soviet Union assumes that research and related tests can be carried out in outer space. But this does not concern ABM components and systems and their space-based prototypes.

This also is a serious headway from the Soviet side, which will allow the United States to conduct certain experiments in outer space wilthin the framework of a bilateral agreement.

The Soviet Union, whilch opposes linkages on disarmament issues, now has logically spread this approach to the talks on nuclear and space armaments, proposing separating them from the START talks.

At the same time, the Soviet Union must take into account the objective relationship existing in practice between strategic offensive armaments and ABM defences.

This relationship predetermined the terms proposed by the Soviet Union for working out a separate treaty on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive armaments.

Bush's Chemical Warfare Proposal Examined

LD2509222189 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] On Monday [25 September] President Bush proposed the elimination of all American chemical weapons within 10 years if matched by the Soviet Union and all nations that had such weapons or the capability to make them. The American President unveiled his plan before

the United Nations General Assembly. Our observer, Pavel Kuznetsov filed the following comment:

Let us act together beginning to rid the earth of this scourge, President Bush said. His words remind me of another appeal made more than 3 years ago by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who proposed to rid the earth of nuclear arms by the year 2000. At that time the Soviet leader's plan was described as a utopia and although since then the Soviet Union and the United States have begun to destroy medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, there is much more work ahead. In this country we know better than to call President Bush's proposal a utopia, public relations, or propaganda. It is a very serious and timely idea. And not only because the Soviet Union and the United States share much more in common on this issue than on perhaps any other problem in arms control. By ridding the earth of chemical weapons we will eliminate one of the many threats to the world community. But for any grand idea to succeed, it has to take into account a number of factors. First of all, such an idea as the one President Bush proposed at the United Nations is an appeal for unity. But can there be complete trust and unity while seeking to bury the hatchet in one area while we continue to sharpen our knives in many others?

And secondly, worldwide unity does not mean we are going to have a one dimensional work with the same gods, the same set of values, and the same ideology. Not now, to be sure, nor in 10 or 15 years. I could be wrong, but if this is so, having patience and tolerance seems to be the only way to speed up the changes that are taking place now. President Bush has been in favor of conscious and prudence in dealing with the Soviet Union. A year or so ago that seemed to imply passivity and inaction or at best watching the policy of reforms with keen interest. His United Nations proposal sounds like there has been a welcome departure from that position towards a conscious and prudent cooperation, that is doing something together. My feeling is strengthened by the fact that his United Nations address came 2 days after the Soviet-American talks in Jackson Hole, Wyoming where the two sides reached a package of accords that give fresh impetus to our relations.

USIA Director Gelb Views U.S.-Soviet Ties

18070348 Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Sep 89 p 3

[Report on interview with USIA director Bruce Gelb by I. Mikhaylov: "The United States-the USSR: The Development of Ties Is Essential"]

[Text] **Our meeting with the USIA director, scheduled beforehand, started unexpectedly. Having arranged for the interview with Bruce Gelb to take place at the "Design in the USA" exhibition now taking place in the Sokolniki Park, I caught sight of him at an exhibition stand, freely answering the questions posed to him by visitors. It was only half an hour later that we were able to meet in the small office of the exhibition's organizers, where Bruce Gelb was able to answer my questions.**

[Mikhaylov] Mr Gelb, please tell our readers about the agency and about how you as director see the main tasks of USIA.

[Gelb] Speaking about the main task, I would like to note that our agency is designed to promote mutual understanding between all peoples in the world, and particularly between the American and Soviet peoples. My own experience in getting to know about the USSR started 30 years ago. At that time I traveled with my wife to your country under the "Nation-to-Nation" program organized by USIA at the initiative of the then President Eisenhower. We had an opportunity to see how simple Soviet people lived and to familiarize ourselves with their problems. And everything that we learned corresponded to what this agency had been telling Americans.

Intercourse between peoples is the best way to understand each other. Nowadays the USIA makes use of all possible forms of communications. They include the Worldnet satellite television system, the Voice of America radio station, and various journals. For example, I know that many Soviet people like the journal AMERIKA.

We have also started to publish books translated from English to Russian and these are presented at the international book fair that opened on 12 September in Moscow. Another example is the "Design in the USA" exhibition that many Muscovites are visiting. They not only have an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the various exhibits but also talk with American specialists who speak Russian and receive answers to their questions.

I would like to note that we have effected student and teacher exchanges, and I hope that this exchange with Soviet educational establishments will be successful.

[Mikhaylov] The expansion of reciprocal information in recent times has significantly altered the ideas of Soviet and American people about each other. Which of the earlier stereotypes, in your opinion, remain the most persistent, and why?

[Gelb] Most Americans have the idea that Soviet people are like they are. They are convinced that problems arise at government levels. Americans now understand that your leadership is concerned with raising the living standard in the Soviet Union as quickly as possible. During the week that I have been in your country I have had the opportunity to converse with many members of the Soviet leadership. I have not met one person who would not say that under Gorbachev a new thinking has emerged that has as its task removing the barriers that are hampering normal life.

In my opinion the stereotypes that used to exist among Americans are disappearing.

[Mikhaylov] We know that the United States is showing great interest in the processes of perestroyka and glasnost in our country. What is it, in your opinion, that is most attracting the attention of Americans?

[Gelb] Those Americans who are attentively following the events taking place in the USSR often judge the changes by how business contacts are effected by Soviet organizations outside the country.

We also note that the Soviet leadership is now engaged less in ideological work and is concentrating rather on practical matters. For example, how to increase agricultural output, produce more consumer goods with less spoilage, how to make things so that Soviet people can buy what they like, how much of what they like, and when they like.

I think that given the present complex economic conditions, the Soviet government should change its policy in the field of prices so that they reflect the real value of goods and services. It is difficult to do this. But if the Soviet Union wants to make the ruble convertible your leadership must take the appropriate steps so improve the situation in the economy. In my opinion this process has already started.

Returning to your question, I would like to note the growing exchanges of journalists, students, and teachers, and I think that perhaps soon our agency will be promoting exchanges of members of the governments. This will make it possible to consolidate the climate of trust between the United States and the USSR and will promote perestroyka and glasnost in our country—things that President Bush supports. We now have good opportunities to create greater trust and mutual understanding between our countries.

[Mikhaylov] It is common knowledge that until recently you were a man of the business world. How do you assess the prospects for trade and economic relations between our countries?

[Gelb] Yes, you are right. For the greater part of my life I have been a businessman, and about 30 years ago I even started to trade with Soviet partners. And the problems here are the same as before. The main one is the convertibility of the Soviet ruble. If business people use a hard currency then it can be used in all countries in the world. Soviet currency is valid only on the territory of your country. What can a business do under these conditions?

The basic goal is to achieve a convertible ruble. What is needed for this? Soviet industry and agriculture must raise the level of quality for their goods. They must themselves produce high-quality goods rather than trying to buy them abroad.

Each year the USSR spends billions of dollars to purchase foodstuffs, particularly grain, from abroad. Meanwhile, your country possesses adequate tracts of land and agricultural equipment to provide the required quantities of grain through its own production, and even for export. Incidentally, this does not require any complicated equipment.

This is my question: Why is such a small percentage of the land given over to private farming, and why do people not want to use it more extensively? I recently even heard the following joke: "They pretend that they are paying us and we pretend that we are working." Of course, if for your labor you receive rubles, with which you can buy nothing, particularly in the countryside, this creates many problems.

I used to work on a farm and I know how heavy the work is. Wages should provide incentive for labor by the worker. It is essential that any worker can buy essential goods with the money he has earned.

[Mikhaylov] And what do you think about the notorious Jackson-Vanik amendment, which for many years has been hampering our bilateral trade?

[Gelb] I think that this amendment is a major obstacle to American-Soviet trade. All of us, and I include myself, should try to remove it. America's trade with the USSR should be developed normally.

[Mikhaylov] What is your opinion of the American press, and how do you regard contacts with Soviet colleagues?

[Gelb] We operate on the principle that the American press reflects life as it would prefer it to be. Because of this people are sometimes over enthusiastic. But I think that for any people, in any law-governed state, an independent press is essential for normal life.

With regard to contacts with Soviet journalists, we favor the broad development of ties between American and Soviet press workers.

Economist on U.S.-Soviet Grain Purchase Accord

PM2009145889 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 38, 1 Sep 89 p 7

[Andrey Sizov article: "We Still Need Wheat"]

[Text] In December talks will be held in Moscow on the fate of the Soviet-US grain agreement. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations still thinks that the agreement reflects the interests of both sides.

Yes, grain today is a profitable commodity for the exporter countries. This has been especially true in the 80s, when competition in the world grain markets has grown quite sharp. Therefore, long-term contracts that have guaranteed the marketing of large amounts of grain have been like manna from heaven for farmers. In 1983 the USA managed to lift the obligatory minimum of Soviet grain purchases from 6 to 9 million tons per year. The Americans also demanded that the difference in the deliveries of grain be retrieved (they deliver us 4 million

tons of wheat and as many tons of corn and a million tons of whatever other grain they choose). But I believe that the advantages which these agreements give us are not so considerable.

History tells us that the existence of international grain agreements does not completely exclude the possibility of some interruption of delivery to the USSR does to limitations or bans on grain export. It is enough to remember the embargo Carter introduced in 1980.

The point of view of the USSR MFER, that the grain agreements give us an opportunity to use beneficial prices, is far from undisputable. The Americans give us discounts only when delivering wheat, where they feel tough competition for the Soviet market from other countries—above all the EEC. As for corn, the USA doesn't give us any privileges. The poor harvest in North America has considerably lessened the world export resources and has raised the prices. The discounts, given on the government level, have been erased. In addition, a specialist who observes the movement of world grain markets knows that even the very fact of the start of talks on a grain agreement is a signal for the raising of prices, or (if they were falling before), for the slowing down of their fall. In this way we have been announcing to the world for nearly 15 years that the USSR will continue to be a major grain importer, thus creating unfavourable market conditions for ourselves.

Because of foreign grain purchases, we tend to retain our own production shortcomings to a great extent and undermine our need to radically modernize our milling industry. We still believe in the natural strength of grain, whereas in Europe wide use is made of additives which make it possible to use average wheat to bake bread. But we use such wheat as cattle fodder. Our government and ministries give preference to the Western farmer, and, thus deliver no-confidence vote to our farmer on his ability to feed the country. Such a stand in capitalist countries would trigger off a reaction that would get a number of ministers kicked out of office. I think, that the recent resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers to stimulate grain production in the USSR by giving currency to collective and state farms will not work, due to the existence of long-term agreements with foreign exporters. This is an important element of the constant reproduction of our import dependence.

This doesn't at all mean that long-term agreements on the purchase of agricultural products don't have a right to exist. We'll not get rid ourselves tomorrow from the need of importing food. And an agreement provides an element of stability in relations between the trade partners. But in any case they ought not to be a brake on the development of internal production.

The interests of both sides could be served by an agreement in which the purchases, exceeding the minimum level postulated in it, would, on the statement of the Soviet side, be considered as a part of obligatory purchases for the next year. For example, if we buy from the USA 5 million tons less than the minimum. As a result, our purchases abroad would be connected with the state of affairs in the country's grain economy, and our partner would know that the USSR would purchase, in a certain period of time, the amount of grain it had contracted for this period.

I suppose, there are other options. If the new approaches to grain agreements occupy the focal place at the December talks, they will be able to help lessen the Soviet economy's dependence on other countries.

U.S. Citizen Said To Photograph Closed Areas

PM2109145989 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 8 Sep 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Latvian SSR KGB Reports"]

[Text] Under application No 46, the Latvian republic's "Latviyas Mezhs" Forestry Production Association ordered a Mi-2 helicopter for an overflight of forest areas of the republic 23 August 1989. The application specified Latvian TV staffers Edvins Inkens, Yanis Zalitis, Martinsh Yuryans, and Aynars Ashaks as passengers.

At 1801 23 August the Mi-2 helicopter took off from "Spilve" Airport for Siguldu with Mezhulis Ayvars, the client's representative. At Siguldu the group of TV staffers headed by journalist E. Nikens was taken on board the helicopter, however, it has now been established that U.S. citizen Yuris Kazha [name as transliterated], who was in the republic as a tourist, boarded the helicopter by means of deception instead of one of the aforementioned TV staffers.

Once aboard the helicopter, during the flight over an area of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] closed to foreigners, Yu. Kazha took photographs of the terrain along the flight path, thus committing a flagrant violation of the USSR Law "On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the USSR," the "Regulations Governing the Sojourn of Foreign Citizens in the USSR" ratified by USSR Council of Ministers resolution No 433 of 10 May 1984, and a number of other normative acts.

The Latvian SSR KGB has made representations to the appropriate bodies regarding the violation of existing normative acts by Soviet officials and U.S. citizen Yu. Kazha.

China

Lukyanov Interviewed on Results of PRC Visit

PM2209163189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 8

[Interview with A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau by "Own correspondent" Yu. Savenkov; "Recognition, Understanding,

Opening New Paths: On the Results of the USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation's Visit to the PRC"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Beijing—The official friendly visit to China by a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau, has ended. At the invitation of the National People's Congress [NPC] Standing Committee, the Soviet parliamentarians visited Beijing, Wuhan, and Shanghai, held lengthy and constructive talks with their Chinese colleagues; met with the top leaders of the country, provinces, and cities; and had an intense dialogue at enterprises, an agricultural commune, and a trade firm.

Four years ago, when our countries began to gradually bridge the unnatural gulf dividing them, exchanges between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the NPC were resumed. That was followed by visits by delegations and members of standing commissions and the establishment of direct ties between Moscow and Beijing and Leningrad and Shanghai, regular meetings between representatives of local organs of power in the framework of border cooperation, and contacts in the area of elected organs of power. All of this, together with a growth in economic, trade, and cultural ties, paved the way to the summit meeting.

"Our visit is of special significance because parliamentary ties between the two socialist countries should develop and supplement that important improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations which was initiated by the May meeting between the supreme leaders of the USSR and China," A.I. Lukyanov told your correspondent.

[Savenkov] It is better to view any event at a distance, but I am sure that there is also something to be said for assessing events while they are still fresh in the mind, as it were. How do you view your trip in that regard?

[Lukyanov] Its main aim was to flesh out the accords reached during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the PRC in May. Our delegation included representatives of the Supreme Soviet's leading committees: the Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management, the Committee for Economic Reform Questions, the Committee for the Protection of the People's Health, the International Affairs Committee, and the Committee for Questions of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources. Four union republics were represented: the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kirghizia.

We sensed in China an opportunity to acquire our colleagues' experience and to share ours with them. For example, the delegation held a meaningful discussion on questions of developing legislation, on a number of planning and financial questions, and on relations between supreme representative organs and local organs of people's representatives. We regard our trip as the beginning of much relaxed work to establish qualitatively new relations between our supreme organs of state power. We agreed to place them on a businesslike and planned basis and prepare a timetable for reciprocal visits for a 3-5 year period. We will exchange legal acts and experience in the solution of similar problems. We will develop ties between apparatuses serving the supreme organs of power. This is unquestionably a step forward.

[Savenkov] During M.S. Gorbachev's visit a Chinese professor suggested three elements which, in his view, set the summit meeting's tone: "Recognition, understanding, and the opening up of new paths." How would you assess your trip in terms of those three elements, assuming you agree with the professor's idea?

[Lukyanov] I do agree with him and I shall try to illustrate his three elements.

In conversation with workers, peasants, students, and veterans we saw a reflection of those friendly relations which existed between our peoples in the fifties. No one suggested a return to the former alliance, but sometimes it seemed as though the long years of disagreements had never existed. It is particularly important that the desire to retain all that is best from those times and to discard all that is alien and does not correspond to today's realities was expressed not only by the older generation but by young people, too. It was like a meeting with our own young people, a recognition of the fact that the good relations between our countries are deep rooted. We also appreciated the difficulties of the reform in China, its pluses and minuses, and the vast number of problems which must be resolved. We also understood the difficulties that China has met recently, including during the events of May and June. The USSR People's Deputies Congress concisely and clearly formulated our attitude toward them. We stressed once more that in the acute moments of a country's development, political solutions are always preferable to solutions using force, but at the same time any interference in a sovereign socialist state's internal affairs is intolerable, as is diktat regarding the means by which the people and their leadership are to resolve those problems. In its subsequent demarches the Soviet Union has strictly adhered to the position set out in the statement by our country's supreme forum. It was expressed in M.S.Gorbachev's speech at a USSR Supreme Soviet session and during his trips to the FRG and France. the Soviet delegation clearly expressed it at the recent Interparliamentary Union session in London. We told our Chinese comrades that the Soviet Union will not deviate from this consistent stand.

Understanding means confidence and respect of sovereignty—the whole gamut of relations which correspond to the principles of peaceful coexistence. This was the main theme in all the meetings and talks with our Chinese comrades. And finally, the opening up of new paths. We have very many opportunities for developing business ties. First of all there is the deepening of economic relations. This is undoubtedly aided by the

current elaboration of a program of economic relations through the year 2000. We have clearly outgrown the confines of traditional trade. It must now be a question of production sharing, the creation of joint ventures, and the best utilization of our economies' potential. We also talked with our Chinese colleagues about the existing opportunities in the sphere of space research, electronics, health care, and nature protection. Therefore, our prospects are great and very promising.

[Savenkov] We often speak about the great potential of the development of our relations but we see that the opportunities for their qualitative growth are being revealed somewhat slowly. It is well known, for instance, how difficultly direct ties are developing in the sphere of trade and the economy, and often through our fault. It is clearly necessary to get away from courtesy and ceremonial exchanges and meet on a more professional basis. If you agree with this idea, how do you think these difficulties should be overcome?

[Lukyanov] I also believe that it isn't the number of visits and toasts to the deepening of our cooperation which should be the measure of the level of our relations but, first and foremost, concrete deeds. We were unanimous on that score. No fuss or ballyhoo—those are the two features which our Chinese colleagues and we resolved to base our relations on. Work and work alone! But of course there will be considerable difficulties on that road, we will also clash with ministry and department bureaucrats (they exist in our country and in theirs). There are still people who are not accustomed to backing up fine words with practical deeds. But we have the determination and we must advance persistently. I recall a Russian proverb which I saw in IZVESTIYA: "Work makes you wiser." In China I heard the same idea: "Without work you will not become wise." I believe that these sayings of our two peoples derived from their experience should be our guide at all stages in the development of our cooperation.

[Savenkov] How did the PRC seem to you on the eve of the 40th anniversary of its proclamation? In your view, what does the experience of those years show?

[Lukyanov] I think that China is approaching that portentous anniversary full of hope for the future. Both positive and negative experiences have been accumulated. That is inevitable for trailblazers, especially in such a complex and vast country. There have been brilliant episodes in its history and there have been bitter ones which have driven China back and diverted it from its chosen path. That must not be forgotten either. In conversations with Chinese comrades we understood that an independent, powerful China can be built only on the basis of socialist principles. And there will be considerable difficulties here. Therefore, we wholeheartedly wish our Chinese comrades courage, composure, and success.

China's experience is very distinctive and it would be absurd to graft another foreign model onto it. In the creation of socialism there is no great or small experience. Each country, both large and small, makes its contribution to the experience of socialist building. This generally still very young social system has everything before it—all the struggle, labor, and search are in the future.

PRC Official Cited on Martial Law, Economy

PM1909125589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "The Aim is Socialist Modernization"]

[Text] Beijing, 18 Sep—China will never set about establishing a system of private ownership in the economy or a multiparty system in politics. The aim of China, which firmly adheres to the four basic principles and a policy of reforms and external openness, remains the country's socialist modernization. This was stated by PRC State Council spokesman Yuan Mu in an interview to Japanese journalists.

The introduction of martial law in some regions of Beijing, he said, was an important factor in maintaining stability in the capital and throughout the country. That is why martial law will be extended "for a while" yet.

Touching on the economic situation in the country, Yuan Mu stressed that the measures which are being taken now to normalize the economy are aimed at boosting agriculture and the base sectors of the national economy, developing the infrastructure, and curbing the excessive growth rate of the processing industry. He announced the forthcoming rise in prices for grain, cotton, and other agricultural produce and for energy resources and some important types of raw materials to "encourage the development of agriculture, power engineering, and the raw material base."

Qian Qichen's Mongolia Visit Positively Viewed

OW1709022489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] During his visit to Mongolia, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen pointed out that Mongolian-Chinese relations are developing smoothly and that ties between the two parties have also been normalized. In this connection, our station's observer Lebedev writes:

Currently, although the situation on the Asian continent is developing under complicated and contradictory conditions, it is quite obvious that it has made positive progress. It is gratifying to note that like other areas of the world, the countries of the continent, under the influence of new political thinking, have a good opportunity to improve their ties and promote cooperation among them. A concrete example in this respect was the official visit of Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen to Mongolia. It was a return visit.

By the way, Mongolian Foreign Minister Gombosuren paid a visit to China at the beginning of this year. It is

universally known that Mongolia and China, the two neighboring socialist countries, have seen ups and downs in their relations during the past few decades. Vigorous cooperation once yielded very good results, but the two countries have also gone through complicated and difficult periods in their relations.

During his meeting with Qian Qichen, Mongolian leader Batmonh said that the relations between the two countries are developing smoothly in the fields of trade, culture, science, and technology as a result of the efforts by both sides. The normalization of the ties between the two parties have tremendously boosted the development of Mongolian-Chinese relations.

The Chinese foreign minister's visit to Mongolia was an effective step toward deepening the political dialogue between the two countries. I think it was an effort to improve not only Mongolian-Chinese relations but also the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

It was by no means accidental when Qian Qichen stressed that the Chinese-Soviet summit and the normalization of relations between the two countries have played an important role in improving the political climate and the situation in the region.

The Chinese guest highly valued the new proposal on building a permanent organ of dialogue and cooperation in the northwestern part of the Asia-Pacific region, made recently by Mongolian leader Batmonh. The official visit of Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen to Mongolia shows that Mongolian-Chinese relations are developing smoothly on the basis of consolidation and stability.

Cooperation With Chinese Provinces Strengthened

OW2509060889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 3 Sep 89

[From special program "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] We have reported that a delegation, led by Vinogradov, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], visited Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning at the invitation of the three provincial governments. Our reporter (Emiteliyev) had an interview with Vinogradov, asking him about the results of his visit and the prospects for developing region-to-region relations between the Soviet Union and China.

Vinogradov said: It was very natural for the RSFSR to establish ties with China, particularly with the bordering Chinese provinces. This is because we are neighbors. There are different types of relations between neighbors. Some neighbors do not have contact with each other, and this is not good for everyone. Neighbors can benefit from contact with each other. Today, we are trying to live in harmony. At the beginning, the Maritime Kray, Khabarovsk Kray, and Chita Oblast, areas of the RSFSR which border China, established cooperation with the neighboring Chinese provinces. Later, RSFSR's European section also developed cooperation with China. It is only natural that such cooperation benefits both sides.

Vinogradov continued: Some of our oblasts obtain things from China that are still short in the oblasts. Our Chinese neighbors purchase what they need from us. With the increase in our contact, there is need to consider the prospects of cooperation and to draw up some forms of agreement for cooperation. Therefore, in the last 2 years, the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have received delegations from Heilongjiang, Liaoning, and Jilin, led by leaders of the three provinces. In the talks, both sides expressed the belief that a program for bilateral cooperation should be worked out. They pointed out that there is great potential and bright prospects for bilateral cooperation. Particularly since the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China following the May summit, the prospects have looked even brighter. The two sides begin to consider all kinds of cooperation, and are looking far into the future.

Comrade Vinogradov said that this was also the purpose of his recent visit to China.

Vinogradov said: We discussed with the Chinese comrades the question of drawing up a program of cooperation between the RSFSR and China's three northeastern provinces for the next 3 years. In our talks, we decided to add several sections to our existing cooperation program. The first concerns the question of developing the economy and trade. Cooperation will not be confined to border trade alone. It will include the establishment of jointly invested enterprises and production cooperatives. It will also include the participation of Chinese workers in RSFSR construction projects. The second concerns cooperation in science and technology. We have found that Soviet and Chinese scholars share many common interests. In light of this, we have decided on various forms of cooperation, such as the development of joint research projects by Soviet and Chinese research institutions and the initiation of exchange programs, including the exchange of students and the exchange of scholars for lectures and conferences. The expansion of cultural exchange will also help develop friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples. Under the program, the two sides will send theatrical groups, orchestras, and individual performers, hold art exhibitions, and exchange artists.

Vinogradov said: We also plan to initiate exchanges between youth and social groups. In the sports field, we plan to hold competition and exchange coaches. For example, the Chinese side will invite Soviet ice hockey, figure skating, speed skating, and boxing coaches, while we shall invite Chinese table tennis coaches and coaches in other sports. In short, it is a gigantic program.

During his visit to Harbin, Changchun, and Shenyang, the foreign minister relayed letters of invitation from Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The invitation was accepted by the Chinese side with thanks. The two sides have decided to sign programs of cooperation between the RSFSR and Heilongjiang, Liaoning, and Jilin when the government leaders of those three provinces visit the RSFSR. It is expected that these visits will take place toward the end of this year.

Soviet Arctic Scholars on Cooperation With China

OW2309070389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 3 Sep 89

[From the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] Many of the scientists from the Antarctic and Arctic Poles Research Center in Leningrad, as well as Chinese scientists, are currently in Beijing to attend a meeting on the Antarctic Pole. The Soviet scientists will brief their Chinese colleagues on the meteorological map, ice, and navigational situation in the Antarctic. China's "Duji" expedition ship will travel to the area to conduct research next summer.

Our station reporter (Khalipov) interviewed (Kharbechin), deputy director of the Antarctic and Arctic Poles Research Center, on contacts between Soviet and Chinese scholars.

[(Kharbechin) is heard briefly speaking in Russian, fading into Chinese translation after a few seconds] (Kharbechin) said: Contacts with Chinese Antarctic experts started in 1988. Since then, several Chinese delegations have visited Leningrad. We have had extensive discussions on various scientific projects, including joint research on weather, the sea, and the possibility of cooperation in Antarctic research.

(Khalipov) asked: What are your views about the prospects for this cooperation?

(Kharbechin) answered: Soviet scholars are interested in the expanding scope of research being carried out by their Chinese colleagues. As you know, the two Chinese observation stations in the Antarctic are located in areas where Soviet scholars have conducted research for many years. This has provided a good basis for cooperation between the two countries. Avoiding overlapping research and combining the strength of Soviet and Chinese scholars are very important for conducting research in the Antarctic, where summer is very brief. The joint use of transportation, loading and unloading, technical equipment, and living quarters, are also very important. Last summer, for example, Chinese experts helped us unload, under difficult circumstances, heavy technical equipment to be used to renovate the observation centers. When China's "Duji" expedition ship arrives in the Antarctic next summer, the Soviet ("Alfeniyev") ship will already be there. It will offer assistance to the Chinese if necessary.

(Khalipov) asked: Soviet arctic scholars have access to satellite-transmitted information, modern navigational data and maps, fine equipment, and rich experience in ice and weather forecasting. This will certainly be of interest to their Chinese colleagues. In your opinion, how will the Chinese scholars be able to benefit from Soviet researchers?

(Kharbechin) said: Chinese scholars will benefit in analyzing data collected in the Antarctic, in classifying information, and in many other respects. Our Chinese colleagues are equipped with modern laboratories and their research methods are of great interest to us.

In conclusion, the deputy director of the Antarctic and Arctic Poles Research Center said: Chinese scholars have rich experience in research on how to make marine biological resources serve the national economy.

Northeast Asia

Yakovlev Receives Korean Workers Party Official

LD2309102389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Yakovlev, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met 22 September with Ho Tam, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party. The conversation confirmed that both parties are striving toward consolidation of Soviet-Korean friendship and cooperation. An exchange of opinions took place about the development of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region and about a number of other international matters of mutual interest.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Foreign Ministry Statement on SRV Withdrawal

LD2609112189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1032 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Sep (TASS)—The following statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR was distributed today:

The withdrawal of Vietnamese military units from Cambodia was completed on 26 September 1989 in accordance with the decision of the governments of the SRV and the State of Cambodia. The withdrawal of the troops took place in the presence of representatives of the parliaments, governments, public organizations, and also journalists of many countries.

This highly important military and political act shows once again Vietnam's respect for the national sovereignty of Cambodia and, the policy it has proclaimed of permanent neutrality, and is proof of the strengthening of people's power in that country.

The complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia opens up a qualitatively new stage in the development of the situation in the country and creates

favorable conditions for achieving national reconciliation and all-embracing solution to the Cambodian problem. It should give a tangible impulse to the talks on questions of a settlement at the inter-Khmer, regional, and international levels.

In sticking consistently to the Jakarata understandings, the Cambodian and Vietnamese sides have shown their goodwill and have fulfilled one of the two interrelated key tasks of a settlement: foreign troops have left the territory of Cambodia. Now efforts must be concentrated on averting the danger of a restoration of the genocide regime in that country.

The question of preventing an escalation of military actions, and even more, the unleashing of civil war in Cambodia, is becoming exceptionally important in the fundamentally new situation that is arising.

The cutoff of military supplies from outside to all the conflicting Cambodian sides, renunciation of interference in any form in the internal affairs of the country, of actions leading to a worsening of the situation there, would contribute to solving this task. A display of mutual restraint, an aspiration for mutual understanding by the Cambodian sides themselves, first and foremost touching a cease-fire, would also contribute to this.

Particular significance is now acquired by continuation of the search for mutually acceptable solutions to the Cambodian problem by the participants in the international conference on Cambodia, the first session of which took place recently in Paris and strengthened the basis for the continuation of joint work and the finding of a just solution.

At the 44th session of the UN General Assembly, the international community, too, could put in a weighty word in favor of establishing peace in Cambodia, taking into account the new situation, which has been created following the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops.

The Soviet Union welcomes the responsible, constructive decision of the SRV and the Cambodian state and considers it a milestone, a practical contribution to the liquidation of the conflict in Southeast Asia, and expresses the hope that it will be properly evaluated by the international community.

For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to further assist, in all possible ways, the most rapid removal of this seat of tension, in the interests, first of all, of the Cambodian people, and the cause of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and worldwide.

Foreign Ministry's Gerasimov Cited on Withdrawal

LD2209133489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1229 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 Sep (TASS)—At the current stage of the Cambodian settlement, the most important task is to see that the completion of the withdrawal of foreign troops from the country is not used for the unleashing of a civil war, an attempt to seize power by force, and the restoration of the genocide regime. Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, declared. In conversation with a TASS diplomatic correspondent, he commented on the final stage of the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, which began on Thursday.

In order to observe the troop withdrawal, over 100 foreign representatives have arrived in Phnom Penh, including some from the Philippines, Thailand, Great Britain, the FRG, the USSR, the Hungarian People's Republic, the CSSR, Cuba, and others, as well as 300 correspondents from the major world news agencies and television companies.

The Soviet Union, Gennadiy Gerasimov said, considers it necessary to ensure the continuity and dynamism of the negotiating process at all levels, including between the Khmers. One must also strive to ensure that the Cambodian sides show restraint in respect of military activity. In this context, he noted, the USSR supports the initiative of the government of Thailand, which came forward with a proposal on a cease-fire between the opposing Cambodian sides. Unlike the Khmer opposition, which rejected these proposals straight away, the talks between the representatives of Thailand and the head of the government of the Cambodian state, ended with "some success".

"The Cambodian opposition must heed the voice of reason," the spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated. "Otherwise its actions will be directed against the interest of the people of Cambodia and will become a challenge to world public opinion."

Impact of Vietnamese Troop Pullout Assessed

BK2609111789 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] On 26 September, the last Vietnamese combatants will be out of Cambodia. Large and small units of the Vietnamese People's Army, withdrawn from western Cambodia, have now left Phnom Penh, where tens of thousands of people saw them off most warmly. The internationalist combatants left Phnom Penh for their home country on buses, on boats along the Mekong river, and on planes from Pochentong airport. The withdrawal was orderly and took place in a quiet atmosphere in accordance with the timetable and witnessed by a multitude of foreign representatives. An historical page has been turned. Internationalist Vietnamese combatants have fulfilled their mission to save the Cambodian people from the hell of Pol Pot's genocidal policy.

As was clearly pointed out at the farewell meetings, due to the assistance of socialist Vietnam, the Cambodian nation has been preserved and the country's economic and cultural life has been restored. The state, which expresses the interests and hopes of the majority of the

Cambodian people, has been consolidated. Now, no one doubts that the Phnom Penh government can solve the complex socio-economic problem by itself and assume the defense of the people's peaceful labor and implement an independent and masterful foreign policy.

Reflecting the strength of the people's power is the atmosphere, which in general is normal and energetic, being experienced by the Cambodian people. Markets in Phnom Penh are usually bustling with people. In the evening, signs at hotels, restaurants, and coffee shops are brightly illuminated with multicolored lights. The rhythm of the State of Cambodia's labor beats uninterrupted.

The withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer army has created a condition with a new quality for definitively solving this regional conflict. A number of outside factors have been eliminated. From now on, no one has any excuse for saying that the solution to the Cambodian problem is blocked and hindered by the presence of the Vietnamese Army. In another few hours, there will not be a single Vietnamese soldier left in Cambodia. From now on, the extent of national reconciliation and firm peace achieved in Cambodia depends on the Cambodian parties. This is entirely their internal affair.

Outside forces, particularly those involved with various Cambodian parties, should assume a more responsible role. Only when military aid to the various warring factions is stopped and when there is no interference in the negotiation process can there be a basis for correctly solving the destiny of a most tragic country. This is even more important because the opposition party, especially the most savage group—the Khmer Rouge, is loudly expressing its intention of immediately using military force to topple Comrade Hun Sen's government as soon as all Vietnamese volunteer troops are withdrawn.

By rejecting the formula of a political solution, the Khmer Rouge do not care and have no consideration for the suffering and losses their adventurous act will bring to the Cambodian people. Few people believe that the opposition's war-mongering maneuver can achieve success. Although the opposition receives outside aid, it will not be lucky in seizing anything of substance on the battlefield. The strength of Phnom Penh's enemies is very much something to reckon with. It has been said that the opposition has 40,000 armed men. However, opposed to this are the State of Cambodia's Armed Forces, which currently includes 300,000 militiamen as a major element. This is a reassuring force in preventing the return to power of the genocidal regime. It is a firm shield defending the country's border.

The new situation resulting from the Vietnamese troop withdrawal demands that the international community view its relations with Cambodia and Vietnam in a new light. In the view of many observers, the United Nations should change its attitude toward the Cambodian problem. Resolutions adopted at the UN General Assembly—as well as Cambodia's seat, which continues to be occupied by the Pol Pot group—are not in tune with the era. The West and the ASEAN countries have no excuse for containing Cambodia and Vietnam. This view is expressed by many circles. For example, representatives of a number of countries, such as Indonesia, Australia, the Philippines, Thailand, and others, have talked about establishing relations with the State of Cambodia. What has taken place these few days in Cambodia will undoubtedly influence the political atmosphere in the whole world. Another major step has been taken on the path to solving a complex, protracted regional problem, that is toward strengthening security in the entire world.

Commentary Warns of Khmer Rouge Resurgence

BK2409033689 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Commentary by station observer Viktor Valentinov]

[Text] The last Vietnamese troops began to withdraw from Cambodia. However, worrying news continues to be heard from Thailand. Western news agencies have reported that the Khmer Rouge are preparing to launch offensives against government forces defending the country's border. Following is the essence of the commentary written by our observer, Comrade Viktor Valentinov:

Pol Pot has been waiting for this occasion for a long time. During negotiations with the Phnom Penh government last year, the Khmer Rouge said that they will have no pretext to fight once Vietnamese troops are withdrawn. A year and a half has gone by, and a turning point for a political solution to the Cambodian conflict has emerged. The time has come to make a major decision. It is currently obvious that the Pol Pot group's objective is to wait until all Vietnamese troops are withdrawn and then seize the power that they lost in January 1979.

The memory of the time when the Pol Pot group was in power in Cambodia now shakes the Cambodian people again. In 3 years, 8 months, and 20 days, the Khmer Rouge killed up to 3.3 million people. Not a single family was spared suffering. Former U.S. President Ronald Reagan considers Pol Pot and his associates as despicable a clique as Hitler's group. It is not by coincidence that the international community has correctly recognized the trial of this genocidal clique by the tribunal in Phnom Penh. Pol Pot is currently preparing the war to seize Cambodia. Genocide can be clearly seen. I talk about this because Western news agencies have reported in detail the regime set up by the Khmer Rouge in refugee camps in Thai territory. Isolated from the outside world, the Pol Pot clique and its accomplices have created an atmosphere of fear in these areas. Misconduct is punished by death, as are attempts to desert the army. It is among these terrorized people that the Pol Pot group has set up its army and is preparing to attack Cambodia following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops.

The world's people are asking whether there is any chance of avoiding the war to be waged by the Khmer Rouge. The answer, which has been clearly heard, is yes, there is. People have the means to avoid this war if military aid to the Pol Pot clique is stopped. However, until now, those who have voiced an empty denunciation of genocide continue to provide modern weapons to the murderous group. I can cite the latest report by an AP correspondent at the Cambodian-Thai border. The reporter said that Khmer Rouge commanders have prepared 107-mm rockets for firing into Phnom Penh. Pol Pot commanders said that these rockets are for creating confusion in the capital. It is normal for confusion to take place; however, civilian people will suffer. Therefore, the alarm to be sounded is this: Beware of the Khmer Rouge.

Youths, Vietnamese Workers Battle in Moscow

LD2609100489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] People have been ringing the editorial office of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA to ask what happened in Orekhovo-Borisovo [a district of Moscow]. What went on around two hostels for Vietnamese workers who had come to work at the Zil factory resembled a military operation—reinforced militia units in bullet-proof vests, patrol cars, and barricaded buildings, from the windows of which bottles and stones rained down on the heads of passing militiamen. Fighting broke out here between Vietnamese workers and Soviet youths which lasted for several days.

Obviously, the appropriate lessons must be drawn from what happened. In the opinion of Militia Lieutenant Colonel (Mikleyev), deputy chief of the Crime Prevention Service at the Main Internal Affairs Directorate at the Moscow City Executive Committee, the reasons for what happened lie in the fact that the Vietnamese workers have virtually no knowledge of our laws. And of course, (?this situation must stop).

Filipino Students Protest Quayle's Manila Visit

HK2509042589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] "Dismantle the American Military Bases!" "Quayle, We Do Not Want You Here!" These were the words on the placards carried by hundreds of students who demonstrated in front of the American Embassy in Manila. They were protesting against the scheduled visit to the Philippines by the American vice president. Reports said the students, belonging to the League of Filipino Students, wanted to present a manifesto to embassy officials but were prevented from doing so by the police. In retaliation, the students began hurling stones, bottles and homemade bombs at the police. Eight persons were injured during the clash, and several arrests were made. Other reports said that the league has vowed to mount other demonstrations against the visit of Vice President Dan Quayle.

Near East & South Asia

Further Friction in Iranian-UK Relations Seen

NC2209205489 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] As was reported, an Iranian named Kurosh Fuladi has sent a letter to the UN Secre y General in which he accused the British police and s urity forces of having resorted to serious and [word indistinct] torture. Apparently this letter will further exacerbate Iranian-British relations. Our commentator Yuriy Andreyev writes on this:

Iran's official news agency IRNA has published Kurosh Fuladi's letter. Fuladi was released after almost 10 years from one of Britain's prisons.

Kurosh Fuladi, who was arrested in 1979 in London on charges of involvement in terrorist acts, informed UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar in his letter that foreigners are tortured in British prisons and that they are treated insultingly. Kurosh Fuladi also stated that throughout his term in prison no International Red Cross representatives visited him.

London has refuted this allegation and has described it as an outright lie.

Apparently, a new round of a propaganda war is starting between Iran and Britain. We wish to recall that in March this year, and after Imam Khomeyni issued the decree on killing British author Salman Rushdie, Iran severed its relations with Britain. In reply, London condemned Tehran for violating human rights, for interfering in domestic affairs, and for violating the norms of international law. Thus Iran and Britain declared a political embargo on each other. Tehran refrained from participating in the second session of the Interparliamentary Union in London in early September.

Naturally the question arises: What is the reason behind such a strong diplomatic difference between the two countries? Apparently the reason for this is primarily the fact that both countries have become captives of their political patterns. It seems that London and Tehran are not seeking to find acceptable ways and are not hearing each other. On the one side Britain insulted the Muslims by publishing The Satanic Verses. This act can be described as discourteous, especially since the Iranian Government had asked British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to prevent the publication of this book, warning that its publication could have extremely negative consequences.

On the other hand, Iran adopted a stand which could not be reconciled with this. Iran's threat to kill Salman Rushdie poured oil on the fire. As a result, a confrontation in Iranian-British relations became apparent.

Instead of starting calm and patient talks, Tehran and London have started on the path of mutual accusations and threats.

We know that sentiments do not help to solve political problems. It was by understanding this that Iran recently took the first step and announced its readiness to revive its diplomatic relations with Britain on the condition that Islamic values were respected. But Britain rejected these proposals. The official spokesman for the British Foreign Office said that if Iran wants an improvement in relations, it should take the first step. Meanwhile, we should say that what the British Government means by the first step is for Iran to give up its stand on the publication of the Salman Rushdie book, to help release the hostages in Lebanon, and to cooperate in solving the problem of British businessman Roger Cooper, who has been held in an Iranian prison since 1985 on charges of spying.

In short, it is clear that London did not want to take the flexibility in the stand of the Islamic Republic into consideration and refrained from any kind of compromise.

Thus, the political confrontation in the relations of the two countries continues. At the same time, the tension in Iranian-British relations cannot go on forever. Apparently both sides should display flexibility in the complicated situation that has arisen between them.

'Arafat Talks Statement of 'Special Importance'

LD2209132389 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—By TASS Political News Analyst Albert Balebanov:

Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) leader Yasir 'Arafat's public statement in Cairo, expressing readiness to open direct talks with Israel with Egypt's help, is a step of special importance in the search for peaceful ways to settle the Middle East problem—centerpiece of which is the Palestinian issue.

The stage for the direct Palestinian-Israeli negotiations has been set by the results of a Cairo meeting between Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

'Arafat's initiative demonstrates that the PLO continues to hold sober and constructive positions, taking account of political realities in the region. The PLO's latest move is also a serious contribution to easing tension and fostering a climate of trust in the Middle East.

'Arafat's insistence that any Palestinian delegation to talks with Israel should necessarily include Palestinians living outside occupied territories is important, natural and logical.

It is common knowledge that regardless of where they live, Palestinians are a single people compelled by tragic circumstances to reside both in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and in other lands such as Tunisia, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries.

It is not by chance that 'Arafat insists on this principle of Palestinian representation at the talks, despite Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir's refusal to enter any negotiations with the PLO.

The Israeli Cabinet is divided on the issue: Shamir's partners in the ruling coalition—representatives of the Labour Party led by Shimon Peres—support the Mubarak plan, which would give the Egyptian leader the possibility to form the Palestinian delegation.

Mubarak himself believes that it should be formed by the PLO and composed of both emigrants and people living in occupied territories.

In the new situation, prospects for direct PLO-Israel talks are encouraging, although they are completely dependent on Tel Aviv which has the final say on the matter.

In the interest of peace in the Middle East, it is very important not to pass the unique chance offered by the PLO's and Egypt's initiatives.

Israeli, World Reaction to Mubarak Plan Examined

PM2509134989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Roundup of opinion on "Mubarak plan" compiled by D. Velikiy in Cairo and B. Ivanov in Moscow: "A Step Toward the Solution of the Palestinian Problem?"]

[Text] Egypt's political initiatives geared to solving the Palestinian problem remain one of the main events in the Near East.

The proposals put forward recently by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, his so-called "10 points," envisage the creation of the requisite conditions for holding elections in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories. The Egyptian leader's plan has been officially presented to the Tel Aviv government and has produced various reactions on the part of Israeli cabinet members, essentially bringing the members of the government coalition—the "Likud" bloc of right-wing parties and the Israeli Labor Party—to the brink of a split (see IZVESTIYA No 262). Against this political background Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin's lightning visit to Cairo last Monday and his meeting with the Egyptian president aroused great interest. During the talks there was a detailed discussion of the Egyptian peace initiatives.

What are Cairo's proposals, which the press is now calling the "Mubarak plan"? According to the influential newspaper THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE, they are geared to the peaceful solution of the Palestinian problem and could serve as a reliable basis for starting serious work on a Near East settlement. The plan contains 10 provisions, including important ones such as Israel's pledge to recognize any election result, the appointment of international

observers to monitor the elections, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the voting areas for the duration of the election, an end to the practice of establishing Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, the granting to Palestinians from East Jerusalem of the right to participate in the elections, and Tel Aviv's recognition of the principle of "land for peace" as part of an all-embracing settlement of the conflict.

Analyzing the Egyptian proposals, observers note in particular that compared with the well-known "Shamir plan," the wording of which is ambiguous and vague, they are very clear and specific. This, in particular, was mentioned at press conferences by H. Mubarak and Y. Rabin after the talks. According to the Egyptian leader, the main purpose of his initiatives is to create a situation where Israelis and Palestinians can sit down at the negotiating table to discuss the procedure for holding elections in the occupied territories. The Egyptian president expressed the hope that a single Palestinian delegation would soon be formed, which would include both Palestinians from the occupied lands and Palestinians living outside them. This delegation would hold talks with the Israelis. Mubarak proposed the Egyptian capital as the venue for the talks. Although the composition of the delegation has not yet been determined, it is assumed that, in any event, PLO members will be involved.

Y. Rabin, for his part, said that he believes the Egyptian intiatives are sincere and considers them useful in terms of starting the peace settlement process. He also agreed that Egypt should play the main role in choosing the members of the Palestinian delegation for the subsequent talks with Israel. At the same time, Y. Rabin admitted that there are fierce differences of opinion in the Israeli Government over the Egyptian plan.

Citing Israeli sources, the British newspaper THE TIMES considers that Rabin's visit nonetheless signifies a softening of the hard line of Prime Minister Shamir, who appears to be inclined to accept Egypt's mediation in order to achieve Israeli-Palestinian dialogue. The same opinion is held by the U.S. newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES, which calls the Israeli defense minister's trip the "first significant sign of progress" in Tel Aviv's attempts to settle the Palestinian conflict since the announcement of the Shamir plan in May. The ministers from the Israeli Labor Party, the British paper THE GUARDIAN writes, regard Egypt's proposals as the first opportunity to make progress in the Near East peace process since the start of the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories. Most of them are prepared to leave the coalition government if the "Likud" bloc is unable to respond positively to these proposals. In the paper's opinion, support for the Egyptian plan on the part of Rabin, who hitherto has been much more of a "hawk" than Shamir, is particularly significant in this connection.

So Rabin's visit to Cairo is over. The Israeli minister's statements appear more promising than before. But it should not be forgotten that for many years the Palestinian problem has been a kind of political obstruction, which has simply been impossible to remove at one go. Clearly for that reason the discussion in Cairo omitted many aspects which are bound to crop up at later stages.

Vorontsov, Egyptian Envoy Hold Talks

LD2209170789 Moscow TASS in English 1337 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—Soviet first deputy foreign minister Yuliy Vorontsov today received the Egyptian ambassador to the USSR, Ahmad Mahir al-Sayyid, at the latter's request.

They discussed a Middle East settlement in a business-like and constructive spirit.

Aytmatov Says Hope for Renewed Ties Only 'Private'

TA2209120989 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 22 Sep 89 p 16

[Report by David Makovsky]

[Text] The Soviet system must move away from the centralized hierarchy it is today and become more of a federation of states, says Chingiz Aytmatov, a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and a leading novelist whose works have inspired numerous plays and ballets.

He addressed a press conference and members of THE JERUSALEM POST editorial staff yesterday, at the end of a two-week visit that included meetings with the prime minister, the vice premier and other cabinet figures.

Aytmatov, the highest ranking Soviet official to visit this country since 1967, praised the Hungarian decision to renew diplomatic relations with Israel, and said it was encouraging that the move was made without the USSR having to grant formal permission.

"I am very happy that this event occurred without prior consultation with Moscow. This proves that every socialist state has to operate according to its own set of thinking," Aytmatov said.

He called President Mikhail Gorbachev a "hero," and stressed that the Soviet leader is faced with critical challenges. "He is the father of reforms. His predecessors had an easier life. Nobody would vote or speak against them at major meetings."

Aymatov became animated when discussing glasnost in Soviet broadcasts. "I now listen to Chinese and Albanian radio stations, and cannot believe that our radio sounded the same three years ago. I have no nostalgia for those days. I do not understand where we were," he commented.

Asked about a letter he signed in 1974 denouncing exiled writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the politician-writer said:

"The political situation was different then, but I said two years after the letter was written that it was a mistake, and I am ashamed."

At the beginning of his visit Aytmatov said he hoped the Soviet Union would move quickly to renew ties with Israel. Yesterday he made it clear that he had been expressing only his own private feelings, as he believes renewed ties will be part of a "broader package" linked with overall progress on the peace process.

The politician-writer, who chairs the Supreme Soviet's Committee on Nationalities, said previous Russian neglect was the cause of current turmoil in the Baltic states, in Azerbaijan and in Armenia.

"It would be naive to speak of calm there. The trouble that exists there now is due to our past policies."

He did not rule out force in quelling the separatist calls in the republics, but said that force is a "very radical step, and we will take all steps to avoid such a situation."

Aytmatov dismissed forecasts by Soviet maverick politician Boris Yeltsin that Gorbachev has only half a year to prove that perestroyka can work. "Such predictions are not serious," he said, "but the future of the Soviet Union depends on the recovery of the nation's economy."

Aytmatov's last political meeting took place yesterday during lunch at the home of Deputy Premier and Education Minister Yitzhaq Navon. Also attending was the Director-General of the Prime Minister's Office Yosi Ben-Aharon. The conversation was described by Navon as extremely frank and friendly.

Throughout the entire visit, Aytmatov and his wife were accompanied by Ilya Zemtsov, the Jerusalem-based Soviet affairs researcher, who acted as their interpreter.

Rebel Missile Attacks Mounted on Kabul

LD2509144989 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Kabul September 25 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

Official communiques on the situation in Kabul, released by the Afghan Ministry of Internal Affairs, relay the consequences of the latest missile attacks on the capital. They claimed 113 lives between August 16 and September 23, the communiques say.

On the average 10-12 ground-to-ground missiles were fired at the city's residential quarters daily cover over the past five days. Most of the casualties are reported from the Kari-Aman and Maiwand districts, where 19 people were killed and about 80 wounded. Three missiles exploded on Sunday very close to the Soviet Embassy. One of them fell only 50 metres away from the wall surrounding the embassy's dwelling area. Some of the buildings were slightly damaged. The other missile hit a nearby two-story Afghan building, gravely wounding two women and a child.

TASS was shown a short documentary, filmed immediately after the Kari-Aman tragedy, of a missile exploding in a crowded market place. It was a terrible sight: mangled corpses, hospitalised women and children, suffering from grave wounds. The Peshawar rebel ringleaders claim that their missiles are fired at military targets. The documentary, shot by Afghan cameramen, told a different story. The missiles, received from the CIA via Pakistan, often kill innocent civilians.

"There is no excuse for people who have sold themselves out to the Americans, who are killing their fellow countrymen", TASS correspondent was told by Ghulam Sahi, official of the Kabul municipal council. The house of his neighbours was razed by a missile which killed six out of the seven family members that lived there. Sahi's view is shared by most of the people of Kabul. They are all threatened by the unparalleled cruelty of "fighters for Islam's purity".

RSFSR Transport Minister Visits Afghanistan

Meets With Keshtmand

LD2409152289 Moscow TASS in English 0853 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Kabul September 24 TASS—Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Afghan Council of Ministers, received Yu. Sukhin, visiting minister of automobile transport of the Russian Federation, to discuss deliveries of Soviet trucks to Afghanistan to ensure normal supplies of foods and other essentials to different Afghan regions.

Keshtmand thanked the Soviet Union for its unselfish aid to Afghanistan in such a difficult period in the country's life, the BAKHTAR news agency said.

Received by Najibullah

LD2409181489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1417 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Kabul, 24 Sep (TASS)—Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, today received Yu.S. Sukhin, minister of motor transport of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, who is here on a visit. During the conversation which took place, matters relating to the development of the transport system in Afghanistan, and to the deepening and expansion of bilateral cooperation in the transport sphere were discussed. [passage omitted]

Sub-Saharan Africa

General Varennikov on Working Visit to Ethiopia

Arrives in Addis Ababa 21 Sep

EA2109195289 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 1700 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Comrade Army General V.I. Varennikov, USSR deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff of Soviet ground forces [as heard], arrived in Addis Ababa this afternoon for a working visit. Comrade Army Gen Varennikov was welcomed at Bole International Airport by Comrade Major General Abebe Wolde Mariam, member of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and deputy minister of defense. Force commanders and generals were present during the welcoming ceremony.

Delivers Message to Mengistu

EA2209193589 Addis Ababa in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Comrade President Mengistu Haile Mariam today received a message from Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and president of the country. The message was delivered by Comrade Army General Valentin Ivanovich Varennikov, deputy minister of national defense of the Soviet Union and commander of the ground forces.

Present at the ceremony were Comrade Major General Abebe Wolde Mariam, member of the Central Committee of the WPE [Workers Party of Ethiopia] and deputy minister of defense; Comrade Tamene Dilnesaw, military attache of the PDRE [People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia] to the Soviet Union; and Comrade Ambassador Valentin Ivanovich Dmitriyev, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Ethiopia.

Comrade Army Gen Valentin Ivanovich Varennikov arrived here in Addis Ababa yesterday for a working visit to the PDRE.

Moves for Peace in Horn of Africa Analyzed

EA2409203189 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] The Horn of Africa has been a hot issue in our newspapers for a long time. It is 30 years now since contrived problems first deprived the areas of peace. There was an indication that the problem might be solved peacefully a year ago, when the Governments of Ethiopia and Somalia agreed to restore diplomatic relations. They also promised to refrain from any hostile act. It is almost always the case that problems between states can be solved peacefully.

The talks between the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] representatives have shown that internal problems can also be solved by political means. Although the Atlanta talks dealt principally with procedural matters, it is encouraging that the opposing groups agreed on the 13 points they discussed [as heard].

In the case of Sudan, there are also hopeful signs, despite many different interpretations of recent events. A conference was held this week to look at means of achieving a peaceful solution to the problem in the south. What we would like to remind you of is that since 1983 there has been a real civil war taking place in the area.

According to recent news reports from Somalia, President Mohamed Siad Barre has called the rebels struggling against government troops to enter into peace talks if they really stand for the unity of the country. In his speech delivered to political seminar participants, on Wednesday, 20 September in Mogadishu, Mohamed Siad Barre said the government representatives are ready to hold talks at any time and at any place. This is good news.

Esteemed listeners I am sure that many points of disagreement might arise, because many of these problems have existed for many years: it will not be simple to solve them all at once. It may even be impossible.

For example, the Atlanta negotiators refrained from discussing the future political stance and government structure of Eritrea. As is known to all, this issue has a far [word indistinct]. Furthermore, although the EPLF is the largest opposition group, it is not the only one. There are others. Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army [SPLA] representatives have not yet participated in discussions on a peaceful solution to their problem. It is clear that they are the ones to protect the interests of the Christians in the south of Sudan.

We do not know yet how opposition groups will respond to the peace call made by Siad Barre, but it is clear that the reply will not be the same as Barre's call. There are many situations that can be cited as examples of possible pitfalls. Our commentator says: It would be naive to imagine that there will be a total and permanent ceasefire in the Horn of Africa soon. But, equally, it is also undeniable that the situation is becoming more favorable to the achievement of peace.

It is necessary to explain some of the factors which offer hope. Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter said that achieving a peaceful solution to any conflict in the Horn of Africa paves the way for the solving of other conflicts, and he was quite right.

It is undeniable that concentrating on the actions of external enemies instead of resolving the distrust between governments within a region and concentrating on internal problems has been the cause of escalating an [word indistinct] wars. The present situation demonstrates that distrust is outdated. The United Nations and

the OAU have contributed to the convening of the Atlanta talks. Likewise, Kenya, Tanzania, the GDR, Sweden, the USSR, the United States, and other governments have contributed. Although the position taken by these countries on the Eritrean issue differs, they have put aside their differences in order to restore peace.

The recent meeting in Atlanta was made possible by the ever increasing trend among politicians to focus on international situations for the comprehensive progress of mankind. Although any regional conflict looks complicated when viewed for the first time, they have realized that they can bring about disaster. Therefore, it is the duty of any inhabitant of our planet to contribute his share to resolving conflicts. However, the greatest obligation in this direction rests with the participants in the conflict.

Coup Attempt in Burkina Faso Viewed

EA2209215489 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 20 Sep 89

[From the "World Events Today" Program]

[Text] The pointless habit of seeking to come to power through the barrel of a gun is still prevalent in Africa. The most surp[illegible]g thing about this attempted coup is that the two ministers involved in the plot, who were subsequently detained last Monday, were the closest friends of the country's president, Captain Blaise Compaore. It was these two who helped him come to power following the horrifying events of 15 October 1987, during which Thomas Sankara, the former president of the country, was killed. However, the plot initiated by the two ministers—Major Jean-Baptiste Lengani, the minister of defense and security, and Captain Henri Zongo, the minister of economic promotions—was an imperialist ploy (?by which) they intended to install a fascist regime in the country without consulting the masses and other political parties.

A statement released on Thursday over the radio in Ouagadougou, the country's capital, pointed out that the plotters were feeble reactionaries, undemocratic, and antipeople in their outlook. Their plan was to shoot down a plane carrying Blaise Compaore, the leader of the government, who was returning from a 2-week visit to China, Japan, and Brunei. It was officially announced in Ouagadougou yesterday that the plotters and their two assistants had been convicted and executed.

Political events which occur in the life of one country or another, whatever they may be, are the internal affair of that country and its masses. It is, therefore, necessary to point out that the people of Burkina Faso were not involved in the attempted coup. The masses of that country have tired of coups, and they do not want to hear the word coup any more, says AP, quoting the BURKINABE NEWS AGENCY. The feelings of the country's people can be well understood, considering that per capita income there is the lowest anywhere in the world. The country and its people are daily faced with matters related to their needs.

World opinion is not greatly concerned about the situation. Diplomats in Ouagadougou were told yesterday that the country's political system would not be changed, especially as regards relations with friendly countries, and that agreements on bilateral and multilateral cooperation would continue as usual.

The capital city of Burkina Faso is now quiet. Worries about the frequency of coup plots in Burkina Faso linger. This is the 10th coup attempt since the country became independent.

Fisheries Talks With Sierra Leone Resume

AB2409104189 Freetown Domestic Service in English 2000 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Talks between the Soviet Union and Sierra Leone on the fisheries protocol with the Soviet Union have resumed in the Soviet capital in Moscow. According to the SIERRA LEONE NEWS AGENCY, SLANA, Soviet and Sierra Leone negotiators are to work out a (?scheme) for implementation [words indistinct] under the joint Sierra Leone USSR commission on fisheries. The Sierra Leone delegation, led by the minister of agriculture, natural resources, and forestry, Mr Mohamed Bash-Tagi, includes senior permanent secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture, Mr Hamid Kamara, and the director of fisheries, Mr E.C.K. Korliman. In a similar negotiation held in Freetown in December last year, provisions were made for the training of 20 Sierra Leoneans, while additional specialists were to be provided by the Soviet Union to assist in the operation of the marine training school at (?Kitu) [words inditinct]. The Soviet Union also [words indistinct] the Sierra Leone Fishing Company.

Commentary on Angolan Talks, U.S. Aid to UNITA

MB2209195089 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] According to information agencies, we hear that eight African states that met in the Zairian town of Nsele on Monday [18 September] called on the leader of UNITA [National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola], Jonas Savimbi, to honor the cease-fire agreement with Angola and to resume the talks with the government.

The contents of the declaration adopted at the meeting have not yet been made public, but it was announced that the Zairian president, who mediated at the talks between the government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA, would hand the document over to Savimbi.

All this might not have become the (?sight) of the talks. There are two hostile sides to the internal conflict, and

the attempts of the mediators to ensure dialogue between them in the interest of peace are quite natural, even if they did [words indistinct] at the disrespect shown toward them by Savimbi, who refused to attend the meeting.

All this would have made sense if it were conducive to overcoming the crisis in the process of a settlement. But, it was not accidental that Associated Press, for instance, notes that it was hard to understand how the African leaders were to convince Savimbi of something [words indistinct] if the conflict [words indistinct] has become the interest of the talks between the government and UNITA. All the disagreements in the interpretation of the agreements reached earlier and all the obstacles boil down to this: whether UNITA has the right to enjoy the status equal to that of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Party of Labor.

There is no sense in arguing about the roots of the issue; they are too deep. However, now no one will disregard the fact that the MPLA-Party of Labor is a national force.

And what about UNITA? It would be silly to deny that it is a force, and an organized one. But, what would become of it if the American aid stopped? Savimbi has declared that a congress of UNITA, scheduled for 24 September, will outline his position. But is it difficult to foretell its outcome, since just before it the United States State Department announced about its full support for UNITA, which, as before, means a military aid to the tune of $15 million, in the circumstance, leaving Savimbi with a wide choice. This $15 million is not only the most regretted argument in the debate about its status, it is also the American argument for Savimbi himself.

Incidentally, one has not got the impression that UNITA's leader minds this, because, otherwise, there wouldn't be any possibility for little criticisms of the mediator at the talks with the government [words indistinct] so far the circumstances just allow Savimbi to be in a convenient and a comparatively safe condition, comparatively safe diversion of a [words indistinct] who is waiting for [word indistinct] just around the corner.

This is the misfortune in this present situation. As for the part of Savimbi [words indistinct] try to convince Savimbi, its happened.

South African President's Inauguration Viewed

MB2209182289 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] National Party leader Frederik de Klerk was inaugurated South Africa's second executive president and will hold office for the next for 5 years.

On such an occasion, he is expected to render an understanding or analysis of the country's situation, but Frederik de klerk seems to have deviated from this. In the past 5 weeks, he has repeatedly outlined his plans for the country as president. Yesterday, he said nothing much, perhaps because he did not want to or because he could not do so. He, once again, as before, gave himself the task of announcing a future South Africa free of the shackles of domination of any kind.

His government's first steps will include approving human rights legislation, releasing all political prisoners, and finding ways to resolve the country's political problems peacefully.

His 20 minute address did not essentially change anything for the better. De Klerk, however, gave an air of hope for the future, fuelled by prospects for the speedy release of Nelson Mandela. This also brings prospects nearer for negotiation among the various peoples in the country.

On his inauguration day, De Klerk also commuted the death sentences of seven people, only one of them convicted for a political crime. The president's promise to release political prisoners has merely been a dream. However, Mandela, is not counted among such.

Nothing much has been changed by the elections in white politics. There is still much cooperation between the government and the official opposition. De Klerk's address was in both English and Afrikaans at his inauguration. It was no mistake that during his Afrikaans discourse he stressed that the release of political prisoners was dependent on the circumstances within the country. What he wanted to say was that no one would be permitted to put the security of the country at risk.

During his English discourses, he admonished activists to accept his politics and end violence. His message to the international community was that he would strive to carry out reform in South Africa in a manner satisfying all. Everyone was told what they wanted to hear, but all watch with great interest to see how his speech will fair in action. Nothing less that the eradication of apartheid will satisfy. De Klerk has urged all concerned to play their part.

Chances for South African Reform Assessed

MB2209155089 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Aleksandr Fedorov commentary; from the "South Africa Today" program—read by announcer]

[Text] Judging by all results, the transition period in South Africa is not deviating from the outline stages.

Nothing unexpected happened with the forming of a cabinet. It is as was suggested: the (?main) portfolio continues to support Frederik de Klerk in his upward climb in the hierarchy of the party and government.

There is the impression that the new president is causing ministers to change their outlook, those who, like their previous boss, Pieter Botha, were supporters of tough measures.

First off, there is the minister of law and order, Adriaan Vlok, who, when speaking to the police, issued an unusual call for them and said that, before shooting the demonstrators, they should try to convince them of the futility of their demonstration.

It will be a difficult time for the minister responsible for the country's economic situation. Although [words indistinct] many examples of successes in the economy, all the same, the calls and promises are not helping. In South Africa, as in each country, all the problems are interconnected. But, what distinguishes this country from others is that they have the main problem of deciding what the economic and political process depends on.

The National Party's 5-year program and Frederik de Klerk's pre-election and inauguration speeches hold a number of promises linked to the fate of millions of Africans. The president took upon himself the responsibility of giving them political rights but did not mention the time factor and only in a general way outlined the proposed actions. It seems his plan is based on the concept of group rights, which led to the creation of the three houses of parliament. But, millions of nonwhite citizens have already shown their relations with that system by boycotting the 6 September elections.

Of course, a significant act by the new president would be the freeing of the leader of the African National Congress [ANC], Nelson Mandela, about which rumors are circulating. But, again, there is that but.

Now, on the conditions of the state of emergency, as it is still not clear with whom the government intends to finally carry out a dialogue, the freeing of the leader of the ANC would be a great gesture of goodwill and humanness.

It's possible to pin hopes on the realistic outlook of the new president, but it should be taken into account that much in the country does not only depend on him. The new apportionment of strength in the parliament and, in my opinion, what is most important, the relation toward apartheid by the business world, is the unpredictable stumbling block on the path to dialogue with the Africans.

How the business circles are determining the policy is proved by recent events. Major firms in South Africa, without any noise, gave abundant financial assistance to the National Party election campaign. At the same time, the liberal Democratic Party, which has as its aim the abolition of race segregation, gathered voluntary contributions from the individual supporters. Facts speak for themselves. It is possible that the business world will do all it can so that Frederik de Klerk's program gets positive support.

Representatives of business circles condemn the system of segregation in education, but not because they are opponents of apartheid. If there will be an improvement in the training of African white collar workers, and a change in the race laws, which interfere in the relations of the companies with their personnel, it will be, for them, like a revolutionary transformation. The small reforms are not affecting the base of apartheid, the structure which brings in millions in profits and disunites the nations, taking from the workers the chance to unite their efforts in their struggle for economic and political rights.

I do not want to be a pessimist at a time when so, so many hopes are being placed on the future in South Africa, when Frederik de Klerk has stressed his intentions of carrying out a policy in the interests of the whole of society. But, optimism must be nourished by something positive, and from all that has been seen to date, they are a long way off, like on the eve of the parliamentary elections.

Soviet Interview With Cape Administrator Cited

MB2309004189 Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English 20 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] The state of emergency should be abolished in the shortest possible time and South Africa had to "say goodbye to apartheid," the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, has told a Soviet publication.

He also said there was no doubt that the government "understood very well" that the continuation of the apartheid system was the reason for South Africa's isolation.

The interview, conducted by TASS correspondent Mr A. Korzun and Gostelradio (State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting) correspondent Mr A. Sokolov, was conducted in Cape Town while Mr Meiring was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

It is believed to be the first time that an in-depth interview with a member of the South African Government has been published in the Soviet media.

The interview is reproduced in the latest issue of SOVIET REVUE, produced by the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch.

It quotes Mr Meiring as saying: "We have to say goodbye to apartheid.

"We should reform the country. And we are ready to share the authority and material values of the country.

"We are very sincere in our efforts. But we need a bit of help and also—sympathy."

East Europe

Gorbachev 'Probably' Not To Visit East Berlin

AU2309155189 Hamburg BILD in German 23 Sep 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Gorbachev Does Not Want to Pay Visit to SED"]

[Text] Moscow—Gorbachev will probably not visit East Berlin to attend the conference of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] on 7 October. According to informed circles in Moscow, his visit announced by Ligachev makes "little sense at the moment."

Soviet Citizen Requests Asylum in Hungary

LD2409112289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] For the first time, a Soviet citizen has sought asylum in our country. According to information received by MAI NAP, the 33-year-old man of Hungarian nationality arrived in Budapest on Monday and announced that he does not want to return home. At present, he is being accommodated in a refugee camp. According to lawyers, however, there is not much chance of his obtaining the right of asylum, because, in the terms of the Geneva Convention, he would have to prove that he has been persecuted in his country because of his nationality or his political views.

Renewed Hungary-Israel Relations 'Historic'

PM2509110989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 89 p 4

[Own correspondent A. Kaverznev dispatch: "Diplomatic Breakthrough"]

[Text] Budapest—Diplomatic relations between Hungary and Israel have been restored at embassy level. The foreign ministers of the two countries, G. Horn and M. Arens, signed an agreement on this in Budapest.

As is well known, Hungary and five other socialist states, including the Soviet Union, broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967 because of its aggression against Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. For many years Hungary's interests in Israel were represented by the Swedish Government. However, in the past few years, as a result of Hungary's realistic foreign policy, signs of a thaw have emerged in relations between the two countries. Two years ago bureaus were opened in Budapest and Tel Aviv to represent the two countries' interests. In 1988 Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir unexpectedly visited the Hungarian capital. And now Hungary is the first of the six socialist states to exchange ambassadors with Israel. To be more precise, the bureaus are being transformed into embassies, and their former leaders are becoming ambassadors.

The Israeli foreign minister evaluated the agreement as a historic step in the right direction. G. Horn, his Hungarian colleague, stated that the restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel 22 years after they were broken off means that Hungary is ridding itself of its previous mistakes and that this is evidence of the new political thinking. Horn stressed at the same time that political disagreements exist and will remain between Hungary and Israel, but, instead of confrontation, the reaction to these disagreements should be to create opportunities for dialogue. It is reported that a high-ranking Hungarian leader will pay an official visit to Israel this year.

Thanks to the restoration of diplomatic relations, Hungary and Israel believe that economic cooperation between the two countries will develop more rapidly. Scope will also be opened up for ordinary human contacts: Around 80,000 Jews live in Hungary, and 100,000 Israeli citizens see themselves as being of Hungarian descent. As regards international politics, Hungary hopes that by moving contacts with Israel onto a new level, it will make its contribution to a Near East settlement.

After the agreement was signed, journalists asked G. Horn and his deputies whether this step by the Hungarian Government will affect its relations with the Arab states. The answer was unequivocal: No, it will not affect them. Hungary is against confrontation. It encourages dialogue and seeks mutually beneficial collaboration with all states. The restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel is not directed against any country. The Hungarian Government supports the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the creation of their own state, L. Kovacs, state secretary at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, stated. The state secretary also recalled that Hungary has officially recognized the Palestinian state. Representatives of the Arab states were notified in advance about the imminent restoration of diplomatic relations.

Another evaluation of the signed document is of interest. So MTI has reported, Prime Minister Y. Shamir stated in an interview on Israeli radio: "I hope that the agreement will be our first breakthrough in East Europe and that agreements with other East European capitals will follow."

Hungarian Accord on Party Activity Viewed

PM2409153089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent F. Lukyanov report: "Hungary: Agreement Instead of Confrontation: First Agreement Reached at National Roundtable Meeting Has Been Signed in Budapest"]

[Text] Budapest—It took more than 4 months for the participants in the talks—representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], the opposition, and the independent social organizations—to reach

consensus on a number of most important or, as they say here, "cornerstone" laws of the rule-of-law state which is being created in Hungary on the basis of a multiparty system.

Four months of intensive work, around 250 working sessions of various committees and commissions, and thousands of pages of text of agreements on such major drafts as the new electoral law, the law on parties, the introduction of the institutions of the presidency of the republic and the constitutional court.... The progress of the talks was difficult, sometimes agonizingly so. At one time it even seemed that any major agreements would be virtually impossible to achieve. The positions of the participants in the talks were too polarized on virtually all the questions under discussion. It was fortunate that ultimately a sense of responsibility for the fate of the nation somehow prevailed over ambitions and short-term interests.

True, it would be premature to claim that no disagreements remained between the participants in the talks. Compromises may be compromises but the participants in the talks retained their positions and views on questions of principle. It is no coincidence that the disputes and polemics continued at the roundtable right up to the moment that the agreement was signed, that is, the time when the session was broadcast live on television. It should be added here that not all the parties and organizations belonging to the so-called Opposition Roundtable eventually signed the agreement. Of the eight parties and organizations participating in the talks on behalf of the opposition only six approved the agreement. On various pretexts the Union of Young Democrats and Union of Free Democrats, well known for their radicalism, refused to sign the agreement—not, incidentally, that this prevented its entry into force. The most important draft laws will be submitted for examination and ratification by the Hungarian National Assembly session which begins work 26 September.

During the debates a particularly large number of lances were broken over the institution of the presidency. Initially, a section of the opposition insisted on the president's election by the new parliament, and under that plan the president would be given quite moderate powers. The MSZMP, however, proposed the election of a "strong president" to replace the present collective body—the Hungarian Presidential Council—and to be elected by national vote this year before a parliamentary general election is held. The MSZMP proposed that the general election itself be held within 90 days of the president's election. Eventually the bulk of the opposition apart from the Union of Young Democrats and the Union of Free Democrats agreed to that option. By all accounts, the date of the presidential election has already been fixed—26 November.

The real stumbling block at the talks was the draft law on parties, which regulates parties' political activity and party management [khozyaystvo]. It must be said that the opposition was aggressive toward that draft law which, in their opinion, contained extra restrictions compared with the Law on Associations adopted in January. Moreover, the problem was aggravated by the opposition's exaggerated questions on party activity in work places and on parties' property, specifically the MSZMP's property. After many discussions and consultations the MSZMP delegation agreed to end the activity of its lower-level organizations in the courts, the prosecutor's office, government organs, and the Armed Forces. (Party bureaus and committees will "leave the barracks" but will be able to continue work outside military encampments). As for "leaving the work place," that is, enterprises, the MSZMP did not agree to the opposition's persistent demands. The question was left open.

On the question of MSZMP property—one of the keenest questions at the talks—accord at the roundtable was achieved literally on the day that the agreement was signed. The MSZMP has agreed, before the end of the year, to transfer to the government property worth 2 billion forints, part of which will be used to finance the activity of the parties. The government will allocate around a further 100 million forints to the election campaign.

Such, in brief, are the main provisions of the roundtable agreement. In the words of MSZMP Chairman Nyers, who signed the agreement on the party's behalf, another step has now been taken toward a political organization of society in which the political will emanates from the citizen and is exercised by institutions formed on the citizens' initiative.

All this, however, does not mean that the roundtable talks are finally over. Difficult talks on economic problems are beginning. After that another package of draft laws will be examined, including a law on information and a new law on the press.

Vlasov Arrives in SFRY on Friendly Visit

LD2509112289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TASS)—Aleksandr Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, arrived on an official, friendly visit in Belgrade today.

At the airport he was met by Desimir Jeftic, president of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly; Aleksandar Prlja, Republican Secretary for Relations with Foreign Countries; and other officials. Among those meeting him was Vadim Loginov, ambassador of the USSR to Yugoslavia.

Meets With Serbia's Jeftic

LD2509201289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1605 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TASS)—Talks began in the Yugoslav capital today between A.V. Vlasov, candidate-member of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, and D. Jeftic, president of the Republican Executive Council of Serbia.

During the meeting it was emphasized that the Soviet-Yugoslav Declaration and the long-term program of economic cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY for the period up to the year 2000, which were adopted during the course of the visit to the SFRY by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, open up possibilities for the further development of friendly relations between the two countries. The determination to continue to strengthen and broaden them on the basis of the principles and accords contained in the joint documents was reaffirmed.

The sides discussed the state of the friendly relations between the RSFSR and the Socialist Republic of Serbia and examined the prospects for their further development within the framework of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation, pointing to the possibilities which exist for broadening contacts in various spheres.

A.V. Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and D. Jeftic, president of the Executive Council of Serbia, exchanged information about topical questions of the socioeconomic life of the two republics, and about the plans for their further development, aimed at the implementation of the policy of perestroyka in the Russian Federation and economic stabilization in Serbia.

Proposed Amendments to Slovene Constitution Viewed

PM2509122189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by Ye. Vostrukhov: "Yugoslavia: Federation or Confederation?"]

[Text] Belgrade—TANJUG has reported that the SFRY Presidency has warned of far-reaching adverse consequences for the country's constitutional and legal system, unity, and stability if the proposed amendments are adopted for the Slovene Constitution.

As is well known, the implementation of the reforms program has demanded changes to the Constitutions not only of the federation but also of each republic. In the spring the Serbian Assembly approved its republic's updated Constitution. In May the work of the constitutional commission in Slovenia began. When the amendments were ready, the Assembly deputies were familiarized with them. The package of amendments was also sent to Belgrade, to the federal Presidency. And it was then that the Presidency members, having studied the proposals attentively and consulted with specialists, concluded that they are unacceptable for a federative united Yugoslavia. The latter in which the Presidency frankly set forth its opinion states directly that the adoption of the proposed amendments will lead to the actual collapse of the federative socialist state and the disintegration of the friendly alliance of peoples and ethnic groups living in the SFRY.

The Belgrade press stresses that the desire of the leadership of some republics for self isolation, enclosure within their national borders, and the disintegration of the federation's economy has been particularly marked recently. The implementation of economic reform based on market relations is constantly coming up against national bureaucratic barriers. The federal government is establishing business relations with foreign partners with some success but to this day the creation of a unified market within the country remains a problem. "Interethnic relations have reached critical point in Yugoslavia," S. Korosec, secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, said recently addressing the communists of Ljubljana (the capital of Slovenia).

Many people link the proposed amendments to the Slovene Constitution with the aggravation of interethnic relations and with the desire for national isolation. But the Slovene mass media and many public figures disagree with that assertion. For instance, the Slovene Assembly deputies state that the amendments "do not affect relations within the federation," that "every people has a sovereign right to adopt its constitution for itself," that "every union republic has the right to political and economic independence."

Of the 68 amendments to the Slovene Constitution there are 10 which have given rise to the greatest disputes. They include those which give Slovenia the opportunity to decide for itself to change the republic's border, which is the SFRY state border, to secede from the SFRY, and even to become part of another state. I recall that the federation's existing constitution reads: "The borders of the SFRY cannot be changed without the agreement of all republics and autonomous provinces." The adoption of the Slovene amendments would lead to the constitutional inequality of the peoples and ethnic groups of the SFRY and would violate the nature of the Yugoslav federation and threaten its integrity and the entire system of socialist, socioeconomic relations in the federation, the SFRY Presidency believes.

Other amendments give the republican organs the right to suspend the execution of union laws as they see fit. The federation is deprived of the right of declaring martial law in the republic and all natural resources become the exclusive property of the republic. All state organs on its territory must use only the Slovene language (the SFRY Constitution states that the languages of all peoples and ethnic groups on Yugoslavia's territory are equal). In brief, as the journal NIN writes in its recent issue, the alteration of the Slovene Constitution is a transition to the principle of confederation.

The Slovene Assembly constitutional commission has left the opinion of the SFRY Presidium unanswered. Moreover, it has been assessed "as pressure from the center on a sovereign republic." All the amendments have been adopted unanimously. That is why the country's supreme state organ was obliged to discuss the situation at a sitting in which J. Stanovnik, president of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia Presidency, took part.

The SFRY Presidium decision is being discussed everywhere today. Its conclusion is uncompromising: A union republic's constitution cannot contradict the constitution of the federation. It is now up to the Slovene Assembly deputies, who will meet 27 September for a session to discuss the proposed amendments.

Conservative's Letter on USSR Developments

AU2109111189

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 20 September on page 5 carries an 800-word article by Vladimir Jancura, the paper's correspondent in Moscow, entitled "I Believe in the Party." The article summarizes a letter from prewar party member Ignat Chebukin from the Krasnodar kray, which SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published on 19 September.

Jancura quotes Chebukin as having complained about the "general vilification of the past and the tarnishing of Soviet history" in the present-day USSR, which is reportedly aimed at "defaming Great October and the party of the Communists." Chebukin is also said to have criticized in his letter the "tendentiousness" of "some" media in the USSR, which "have opened the floodgates for sweeping vilification of party cadres, under the pretext of pluralism of views," and to have attributed the growing crime rate in the Soviet Union to the "defamation of the past decades, disrespect for the older generations, the steadily growing influence of mass culture, the devaluation of the tested values of socialism, and the stimulation of the rush for profit and property."

Jancura points out that SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published the letter "on its front page where it usually publishes only editorials and seminal articles, which shows what importance the editorial office ascribes to the contribution of its reader." He also notes that Chebukin's contribution "is likely to meet with the same public response as the letter from the Leningrad professor Nina Andreyeva, also in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, some time ago."

West Europe

Shevardnadze Meets France's Dumas in New York

LD2609102189 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 26 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze met with Roland Dumas, the foreign minister of France, and informed his counterpart on the principal results of the talks he had with the U.S. President and secretary of state.

Roland Dumas expressed satisfaction with the results of these negotiations and noted France's particular interest in the progress of the Vienna conventional armament talks. He supported the Soviet idea to hold a working meeting of the foreign ministers of European countries, the United States and Canada in order to resolve the most difficult problems that appear at the negotiations.

The two men also discussed European problems. They expressed concern about Poland's difficult economic position. It is necessary to back all the Polish Government's efforts to rectify the situation, Shevardnadze noted. The Soviet Union has always helped and will go on helping its neighbour.

The Soviet foreign minister noted certain disturbing signs in FRG policy threatening to distabilize the situation in Europe. This, in the opinion of both ministers, does not meet anyone's interests.

Turning to the situation in the Middle East, the ministers supported further efforts by the Arab League tripartite committee on Lebanon. They agreed to continue Soviet-French consultations on this and other Middle-East problems.

Roland Dumas suggested a supplement to the Soviet-French dialogue—a working group on "North-South" problems. Eduard Shevardnadze agreed with the idea of setting up such a team which could include, in addition to diplomats, several prominent scientists from both countries. An understanding was reached that the team's first meeting could be held during Roland Dumas' forthcoming visit to the USSR.

IZVESTIYA Notes UK's Thatcher Remarks

PM2209133389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 8

[TASS report: "M. Thatcher's Statement"]

[Text] Tokyo, 21 September—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who is in Tokyo on a visit, has had talks with Japanese leaders on a wide range of international and bilateral problems, in particular the question of relations between leading capitalist countries and the USSR. She spoke in support of the changes in the Soviet Union and called on Western countries to support perestroyka. At the meeting on Wednesday with Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, M. Thatcher particularly stressed that she welcomes M.S. Gorbachev's boldness. More changes had been achieved in the USSR than expected, she noted.

The head of the British Government, who will make a brief stop in Moscow on her way back from Tokyo to London, pointed out that a politician must have a broad vision and that, in her opinion, M.S. Gorbachev has that

vision. As M. Thatcher noted, the aim of her Moscow visit is to show her support for the Soviet leader. At the same time, she stated that the USSR is faced with difficult tasks, stressing that the success of perestroyka will depend on the Soviet leadership's ability to raise the country's standard of living. Western countries must support the economic changes being implemented by the Soviet leadership, M. Thatcher noted.

A considerable amount of time during M. Thatcher's meeting in Tokyo was devoted to discussion of the acute economic contradictions between Britain and Japan.

Thatcher Cited on Gorbachev, Baltic Republics

PM2209133189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report under the rubric "From Abroad": "M. Thatcher on USSR"]

[Text] Tokyo, 21 Sep—British Prime Minister M. Thatcher, who is in Tokyo on a visit, has had talks with Japanese leaders on a wide range of international and bilateral problems, in particular the question of relations between leading capitalist countries and the USSR. She spoke in support of the changes in the Soviet Union and called on Western countries to support perestroyka. At a meeting Wednesday with the Japanese Prime Minister T. Kaifu, M. Thatcher particularly stressed that she welcomes M.S. Gorbachev's boldness.

The head of the British Government, who will make a brief stop in Moscow on her way back from Tokyo to London, pointed out that a politician must have a broad vision and that, in her opinion, M.S. Gorbachev has just that. As M. Thatcher noted, the aim of her visit to Moscow is to show support for the Soviet leader. At the same time, she stated that the USSR is faced with difficult tasks, stressing that the success of perestroyka will depend on whether the Soviet leadership will be able to guarantee a higher standard of living in the country.

At the same time, touching on interethnic relations in the Soviet Union, Thatcher asserted that the Baltic states were "unlawfully" annexed to the USSR, as an official Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman told journalists here.

During the talks, the Japanese leaders, for their part, expressed the hope that perestroyka would succeed in the USSR, but they again reaffirmed Tokyo's claim to part of the Soviet Kuril Islands.

Shishlin Previews Thatcher Visit 22 Sep

LD2209212289 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting is due to be held on Saturday [23 September] between Mikhail Gorbachev and Mrs Margaret Thatcher who will make a brief stopover in Moscow on her way from Tokyo to London. Our staff writer Yuriy Minayev has talked about the summit with Nikolay Shishlin, an expert on international problems at the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee. Here is an interview in English transcript [Announcer reads Minayev's questions; Shishlin responses are read by second announcer]:

[Minayev] Who suggested the summit and could you unveil some facts that always surround such meetings as the one between Mikhail Gorbachev and Mrs Margaret Thatcher?

[Shishlin] I don't quite agree that such visits are shrouded in secrecy, especially at a time when we are following an open policy. It was known that Mrs Thatcher was going to Japan and a wish was expressed from the Soviet side to make use of the transit of her plane across our territory to have summit talks. As a result of diplomatic negotiations an accord was reached that such a thorough working meeting can be held in Moscow on Mrs Thatcher's return flight. The schedule for the coming summit is tight and intensive.

[Minayev] As far as it is known the agenda of the meeting is wide ranging. Nevertheless, many people believe that understanding on the problem of nuclear armaments can hardly be reached in the future between the USSR and the United Kingdom. Do you believe that this summit can serve as a basis for accords in other areas if any, and in what areas in particular?

[Shishlin] I see that the difference in our approaches to the disarmament problem, for one nuclear disarmament, is not a drama or a tragedy. It is necessary to view the world and the stands of the two sides the way they are. That can become food for further thought and a basis for looking for a compromise. I know that Mr Gorbachev's visit to Britain in the spring was evaluated in a restrained way, but I think it had fine results since it supplied to us a basis for thought, for modifying our position, including the issue of nuclear disarmament in Europe. This does not mean we renounce the goal of getting rid of nuclear weapons in Europe, but we now understand better that it is impossible to move towards the goal by leaps. I expect that the talks between Mr Gorbachev and Mrs Thatcher can generate new ideas, the more so that their meetings are of broader, philosophical meaning. To my mind the understanding of the fact that both London and Moscow bear responsibility not only for the destiny of Europe, but also for that of the rest of the world will help move in the right direction.

[Minayev] There is an opinion that despite some problems special relations in Europe are shaping between the USSR and Great Britain. Do you agree with that?

[Shishlin] I don't think London has this in mind. I don't like to see marks given to West European countries. You apparently remember that when President Gorbachev was on a visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, all people were saying that Bonn was turning into a privileged partner of Moscow's. Then there was a visit to Paris and people talked about France in the same way. And in the spring during the visit to London, talk was

heard that the Soviet Union was turning its face to Britain, but we never turned our backs on Britain. Yet let's not forget that following Mr Gorbachev's visit to Britain there were certain complications in our relations when Britain expelled our people, harking back on an old habit. I would say that these episodes are now behind us and so speaking about bilateral ties, and not only them, this summit will be of great importance.

[Minayev] So you think that the expulsion of Soviet diplomats and journalists and the same reply from Moscow are a matter of the past?

[Shishlin] Yes I think so, though such incidents naturally have their effect along all directions of bilateral relations. I recall that right after the spring visit to London by President Gorbachev I talked to officials of the ITN [Independent Television] television network. At the same time they were going to set up an office in Moscow but immediately after the incident this request became subdued as Soviet journalists were expelled. The office is opening now.

[Minayev] During her visit to Japan Mrs Thatcher urged the West to give assistance to the economic reforms in the Soviet Union; at the same time priorities for such Western aid, as I see them, are given to Hungary and Poland.

[Shishlin] Well I think that Hungary and Poland are comparatively small, say medium-sized countries, and so it is somewhat easier to assist them than the USSR. Besides, I'd say that the Soviet Union must solve its problems itself, not relying on Western Europe, the United States, or Japan. Therefore, the aid problem can be formulated in this way: It is important for us that the West should not interfere in the policy of perestroyka, that's the most important thing, and as for the problems we have, we must simply cope with them ourselves. And one more thing: Today Western aid is decisive for the destinies of the Polish and Hungarian renewal; for this reason, with a foreign debt of $37 billion, what can Poland do with the United States aid of $50 million for buying food? Of course, Poland itself must take radical steps to end the political and economic crisis it has found herself in.

[Minayev] Do you see any political strings, political reasons behind Western aid to both Poland and Hungary, as well as to the Soviet Union?

[Shishlin] One cannot rule out fully the existence of such political reasons. Nevertheless, I don't think they determine the policy. I'd say the main direction of the political thinking in the West is along the line that steps ought not to be taken that would destabilize the situation in Europe, including Eastern Europe. Destabilisation in Eastern Europe can destabilize the state of affairs in the whole of Europe.

[Minayev] Can one draw a conclusion that you regard the Saturday summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Mrs Margaret Thatcher as a meeting that would bring positive results?

[Shishlin] Yes, we must relate this visit to what is happening in Europe, to the dialogue that is gathering momentum between the USSR and the United States. And one more thing, we are eager to learn about the results of Mrs Thatcher's visit to Japan, because the Soviet Union too needs moving along in that direction and do so fast [as heard].

[Minayev] You thus believe that not only Mrs Thatcher will get the information she's interested in but Mikhail Gorbachev will be informed as the USSR also has interests in this oriental direction.

[Shishlin] I agree and believe the information will be quite valuable, since everything that happens in Japan, everything that is related to political sentiments in Japan, interests us very much.

[Announcer] That was an interview in English transcript with Nikolay Shishlin, an expert on international problems at the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

Science Official on Joint Venture With West

AU1909133389 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 18 Sep 89 p 8

["ho" report: "Electronic Bridge Between Moscow and the West"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—Glasnost and the need to cover expenses through earnings have prompted USSR institutes, which have so far been kept strictly secret, to open up to the West—also to earn money. This has most recently been demonstrated by the fact that the scientific-technological information center of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology will publish part of its data in the West as of January 1990.

In a talk with DIE PRESSE, department head Anatoliy Sergeyevich Pusharskiy dreams of an electronic satellite bridge between the USSR and Western Europe, through which information can be exchanged in both directions. The most important information of the past 10 years in various scientific fields is stored in a huge data bank in the institute's computer center in Moscow. The institute maintains a telecommunications network incorporating the 110 most important cities in the Soviet Union.

Puscharskiy has come to Austria to discuss a joint venture project. He is looking for partners who want to cooperate with the institute in Moscow that employs about 1,000 people. One of the aims of such a joint venture would be the support by foreign partners. The institute can offer rooms for seminars and smaller exhibitions in Moscow. Information on the USSR's entire scientific-technological sphere would be available to

foreign partners, and it would also be possible for them to carry out market research. [passage omitted]

Economic Talks With Belgium, Luxembourg End

LD2009045189 Moscow TASS in English 1942 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Kiev September 19 TASS—The 13th three-day meeting of the joint economic committees of the USSR, Belgium and Luxembourg ended in Kiev today with the signing of a final document to develop trade and economic relations between Soviet, Belgian and Luxembourg enterprises and organisations.

"It is not accidental that the capital of the Ukraine has been chosen as the venue for the meeting," Yuriy Bulakh, head of the Soviet delegation, chairman of the USSR-Belgo-Luxembourg Economic Union (BLEU) committee, told TASS. "Or guests were interested in establishing direct relations with Ukrainian partners," he said.

"We are keeping an interested eye on Soviet perestroika," Pierre-Henri Vigny, chairman of the Bleu-USSR committee, who leads the joint Belgian-Luxembourg delegation, said.

"Perestroika is important not only to your people, but also for the development of the common life".

"Business circles of both Belgium and Luxembourg are interested in new economic partners," he said, expressing hope that such a partnership will be established with Ukrainian enterprises in the near future. "We favour mixed enterprises," he stressed.

The representatives of Belgium and Luxembourg were present at a meeting of the republican Council of Ministers and met with senior officials of the Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Negotiations on economic cooperation problems were held at ministries and departments, banks, and in the course of meetings with managers and specialists of Ukrainian enterprises.

Turkish Envoy Says Border Trade To Start

TA2409060089 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 2000 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Turkish Ambassador to Moscow Volkan Vural has declared that both Turkey and the Soviet Union are ready to start border and coastal trade. Vural held a news conference in Rize, where he is conducting contacts on the matter.

Vural noted that border and coastal trade can be undertaken within the framework of a protocol to be signed between the two countries. Explaining that the Soviet Union needs agricultural products, detergents, soap, lingerie, textiles, ready-to-wear clothing, and building materials, the ambassador said that Turkey, in turn, could purchase timber, leather, coal, petroleum products, and machinery from the Soviet Union.

Father Says Weightlifter Pressured Into Defecting

LD2309144589 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Athens September 23 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Malyshev:

"I'm sure that my son is being subjected to physical and psychological pressure," Delavar Suleimanov, father of a Soviet defector, told TASS.

Weightlifter Hafiz Suleimanov, who had come to Greece for the World and European Championships with the USSR team, together with the team's masseur Vitaliy Stabrov had suddenly left the team several days ago and requested political asylum at the Turkish embassy in Athens, as the Turkish side has announced.

"Officials at the Turkish Embassy knew that I had come from Moscow yesterday, but when I asked for a meeting with my son, I had to wait for three hours in the street," Delavar Suleimanov said.

One can only surmise what was happening in the embassy. The meeting was finally allowed, but not tete-a-tete, as the father requested.

During the conversation, the Suleimanovs were surrounded by a group of some ten embassy officials, who were keeping a watchful eye on Hafiz, the father said.

"I noticed scratches on my son's next and dark spots on his face. Maybe, he had been beaten or tortured? Also, my son answered my questions in a very strange way.

"He said that he does not want to return as he is afraid that he will be immediately shot upon arrival in the Soviet Union. He must have been intimidated.

"When talking to me, Hafiz began to cry, then clutched at his heart and nearly fell. After that he was quickly taken away."

The father expressed indignation at the behaviour of Turkish embassy officials who "began to persuade me to leave my homeland and move to their country."

Officials from the Soviet Embassy told TASS that they are maintaining permanent contact with the Greek Foreign Ministry and the Turkish Embassy on a return of the Soviet athletes home.

FRG Bundeswehr Union Hosts Military Delegation

PM2009145289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 38, 17 Sep 89 p 2

[Vladimir Krasnokutskiy dispatch: "Soviet Military To Join Euromil?"]

[Text] Bonn—"What are you going to do with your discarded battle tanks? How do you plan to rectify the differences between officers and other ranks? What benefits do enlisted women have?"

Soviet Colonels Yu. Samilkin, Ye. Razorenov and V. Maslov were virtually barraged with these and similar questions at the assembly of officers of the Bundeswehr Union which can be called a trade union of West German servicemen.

The interest was understandable, since this was the first time in its 33-year history that the Union hosted a Soviet military delegation. The meeting was also attended by a number of Bundestag deputies who had given their support to the idea of holding a joint seminar on contemporary military doctrines.

Apart from purely military matters, the members of the Bundeswehr Union displayed an interest in the social problems that arise in the Soviet Armed Forces.

Said Col. Wenzel, the Union's Chairman: "It might be a good idea to establish permanent contacts with Soviet servicemen. I'm sure that it would be to the benefit of both sides. I wish you had an organization similar to ours in your Armed Forces."

The Bundeswehr Union is an independent public organization for protecting the rights of "citizens in military uniform". The Union is incorporated in the European Organization of Military Associations, Euromil, along with similar unions from Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Holland and Austria. During the Soviet delegation's stay in West Germany, the Bundeswehr Union proposed that a similar union of Soviet military be included in Euromil.

Bilateral Nuclear Seminar With FRG 'Greens' Ends

LD2209174789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] In Moscow, the bilateral seminar on problems of nuclear energy ended today. It was held in accordance with a program of cooperation agreed upon between the CPSU and the FRG Green party, including along social and scientific lines. Representatives of the Green party were received by Comrade Yakovlev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary. Questions of guaranteeing the safety of the use of various nuclear reactors and prospects for the development of other types of energy were discussed.

Yakovlev Receives 'Greens' Delegation

LD2109181189 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party's Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev today received a delegation from the West German "Greens" party, in Moscow for a seminar on atomic energy.

They held a thorough exchange of opinions on prospects for cooperation between the two parties in searching for ways to resolve global, especially ecological, problems.

Responding to the visitors' request, Yakovlev also briefed them on the results of this week's Soviet Communist Party Central Committee plenum.

Laverov Receives FRG Technology Official

PM2109135189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received G. Ziller, secretary of state at the Federal Ministry for Research and Technology, 19 September.

Questions of the further expansion and deepening of scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the FRG were discussed.

E. Heiken, FRG charge d'affaires ad interim to the USSR was present during the conversation.

Soviet Observers Attend Swedish Exercise

PM2109143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exercises in Progress"]

[Text] Stockholm, 14 Sep—More than 25,000 servicemen are taking part in "Southern Front-89," the defense forces exercises currently in progress in Sweden.

Collaboration between branches of the armed forces in the defense of the country's southeastern coast is being rehearsed during these maneuvers, which are the biggest in the last 20 years and are being conducted in the region encompassing the province of Blekinge, a number of other provinces, and also the island of Oland. Sixty ships and 125 aircraft and helicopters are involved in addition to ground forces combat equipment. Measures to check the level of readiness of civil defense are being conducted at the same time.

Representatives of 19 states, including the Soviet Union, have come to observe the exercises at the invitation of the Swedish side. Jan Nygren, the country's secretary of state for defense, said that Sweden invited observers as it is guided by the provisions of the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe.

Nordic States Offer E. Europe Antipollution Deal

PM1509140189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent Yu. Kuznetsov dispatch under the rubric "Ecology": "Environment Is a Serious Matter. Conference of Nordic Countries' Ministers"]

[Excerpts] Helsinki—Environmental protection is one of the most acute issues in the sociopolitical life of the Nordic countries. Problems connected with it have recently been continually coming to the fore in discussions among political parties, public organizations, and the mass media. Understanding of the need for major expenditure on ecology is becoming increasingly clear in government circles and the business world, for such expenditure will ultimately pay for itself—and not only in the economic sphere.

A meeting of the Nordic states' Ministers for Environmental Protection has been held in Goteborg, Sweden's second largest city, to discuss internal and external aspects of their activity aimed at improving ecological well-being. [passage omitted]

The ministers believe that there is evidently an urgent need for the Nordic countries to propose to East European countries cooperation and assistance in the fight against pollution of the natural environment. The Nordic countries are ready, in principle, to allocate financial resources and modern technology to promote, in particular, the fight against atmospheric pollution in East Europe.

"They will not have to spend foreign currency," Finnish Environment Minister Kaj Barlund declared. "We are ready to help."

"We want these countries gradually to be able themselves to create the necessary ecological mechanism," Birgitta Dahl, his colleague from Sweden, pointed out. "They are living through a dynamic time of great changes. We hope to be able to support their good initiatives...."

Rome Daily Replies to PRAVDA on Yeltsin Story

PM2609101489 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 22 Sep 89 p 13

[Letter from Washington correspondent Vittorio Zucconi, followed by commentary by LA REPUBBLICA editorial board: "A Letter from Vittorio Zucconi and a Communique From LA REPUBBLICA"]

[Text] Dear Editor, the developments in the Yeltsin case and the PRAVDA note necessitate an explanation. The case has now acquired two separate aspects—one political, the other journalistic. The first is centered in Moscow and is not my concern.

With regard to the journalistic aspect, the facts are as follows: On the basis of information in the public domain reported by THE WASHINGTON POST on 13 September (under the headline: "Boris the Bear's Alcoholic Embrace of Capitalism"), then by the weekly, TIME, and by local television and radio stations and the press agencies, I contacted people who had seen the group of Soviet guests at various stages of the visit. They added further details to the reports already published, which nobody in Yeltsin's entourage ever denied, even though they appeared in major national newspapers. The existing publication of the facts, the total absence of explanations or denials, and the confirmation from the sources that we consulted constituted sufficient grounds to justify an article in accordance with the most correct journalistic practice. If the sources supplied inaccurate information to THE WASHINGTON POST, to us, and to the other publications that consulted them, or if they later changed their account in the face of the sensation created by PRAVDA, we can only take note of the fact and regret it. As for PRAVDA's New York correspondent, Viktor Linnik, who contacted me only after the CPSU's official organ had published the report, I reproached him for improper use of our own report and for not having consulted me or asked my permission before reprinting it above my name. Linnik honorably replied: "It is true, you are right, I am sorry."

When he asked me whether I personally had seen Yeltsin drinking and shopping, I replied that at no point in my the article did I narrate events in the first person, as a reading of it makes clear.

I can add that some of the sources are Russian emigres in the United States, whose names I must now protect in the face of an international political incident that would now cause them problems both in their host country and among their fellow countrymen in the USSR.

[Signed] Vittorio Zucconi.

This letter from our Washington correspondent provides the explanations requested from him about the article in question.

That article was subsequently the subject of manipulation by PRAVDA which we deplore and which is part of the particularly sharp political conflict under way at the moment in Moscow. This manipulation, which we had nothing to do with, did Boris Yeltsin unjust political harm. LA REPUBBLICA'S editorial board greatly regrets this.

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze To Stop Over in Cuba En Route Home

LD2609110189 Moscow TASS in English 0959 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—Under an understanding between the sides, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will make a stopover in Havana in October en route to the USSR after the 44th U.N. General Assembly to exchange opinions with the Cuban leaders on questions of mutual interest. The stopover will be made after the visit to Nicaragua.

Spokesman on Military, Economic Aid for Nicaragua

LD2509162389 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 25 TASS—"The Soviet Union has not supplied armaments to Nicaragua since the beginning of 1989," Yan Burlyay, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Directorate for Latin American countries, told a briefing in Moscow today.

He said the decision to stop arms supplies to Nicaragua was a manifestation of the USSR's goodwill to promote a Central American settlement.

As to economic aid to Nicaragua, the Soviet Union is supplying wheat and rice to Nicaragua free of charge. Under an intergovernmental agreement, Nicaragua is provided with 25,000 tonnes of wheat and 25,000 tonnes of rice every year.

Besides that, a number of facilities for Nicaragua's national economy are being built on Soviet credits, which now amount to 44 million roubles.

The USSR supplies Nicaragua with machinery, equipment and raw materials and purchases coffee. Soviet deliveries are made on easy- term credits. Last year these deliveries were valued at 245 million roubles, Yan Burlyay said.

Supreme Soviet Session

Gorbachev Opens Second Day of Supreme Soviet

LD2609074289 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

Today the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet starts to discuss the drafts of the state economic and social development plan and of the USSR budget for 1990. The meeting was opened by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

In keeping with the decision passed by the Supreme Soviet this July, the current session, which will continue for two months, is to discuss draft laws on property, socialist enterprise, a uniform taxation system and amendments to the law on cooperation, will consider draft basic principles of the legislation of the USSR and the union republics on land, leasing and leasing relations.

The session will also discuss and adopt laws on economic and social management in the union republics and on local self- government.

Abalkin Addresses 26 Sep Session on Cooperatives

LD2609083989 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] In Moscow the USSR Supreme Soviet is discussing a package of extraordinary measures to raise living standards in the country. The sitting today was opened by Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin, who submitted the government's proposals to alter and update the USSR legislation on cooperatives and taxation. Cooperatives in the Soviet Union currently account for some 25 percent of services, Leonid Abalkin told the Supreme Soviet, with about 3 million people working in the food, catering, trade, and construction industries. However, there have been many instances, Leonid Abalkin said, when cooperatives engaged in violations of the law on fair practices, some of them being used to launder underworld profits.

Leonid Abalkin said cooperatives can play a major role in saturating the Soviet consumer market, provided they are placed on a solid and healthy basis. Such a basis should include the acknowledgement that cooperatives don't contradict the socialist nature of the economy and that they have a major role to play in the restructuring of the economy. To create a favorable environment for cooperatives to function Leonid Abalkin has offered a number of taxation proposals that will encourage fair trade practices.

Discusses Amendments to Cooperatives Law

LD2609104189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 26 Sep 89

[From the "Radio Soyuz" program, presented by Igor Grigoryev: Report by parliamentary correspondent Marina Novitskaya from the 26 September sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Today's morning sitting of the session began with a discussion of the draft law on the introduction of amendments and supplements to the law on cooperatives of the USSR. It is scarcely necessary to mention how urgent is the issue of the further destiny of the cooperative movement today. Completely polarized opinions are forming here, from the demand that they be completely banned, to the desire for an increase in the cooperative movement's share in the country's economy. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, too, recalled the urgency of the problem, saying it is necessary to bear in mind the way in which public opinion forms. In this sense, the government report—it was delivered by Academician Abalkin—represents, in my view, an example of a balanced and considered approach to a serious problem. In his opinion, it is necessary to recognize cooperatives as a socialist form of economic operation and to become accustomed to the fact that the cooperative movement is not a manuever, not a campaign, and not a way of patching up holes; it is a policy adopted for the long term.

The experience of other socialist countries testifies to what cooperatives can do. In one of them, the GDR, for example, there are more than 2,000 public atering cooperatives. They provide 60 percent of the turnover in this industry. In the same place, the GDR, construction cooperatives build 20 percent of the country's entire housing stock.

The second principle the leadership is proposing is the creation of equal conditions for cooperatives and state enterprises. In academician Abalkin's opinion, this will remove the majority of the negative phenomena in the cooperative movement. This will be promoted by the economic competition between the two sectors of our economy.

Finally, the third principle the government is proposing is the consideration in every way of specific local features and national traditions. This, naturally, calls for expansion of the rights of local soviets.

Of course, the government can see all the negative phenomena related to the cooperative movement. These include its infiltration by speculators and dealers in the economics of pricing, the inflation of prices, and the unjustified rise in income of certain cooperative members. Here, the Council of Ministers is resolved to put an end to such practices.

At the same time, however, Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin warned against the creation of a hostile image. In his

opinion, scapegoats have appeared now: the apparatus, the cooperatives, and economic science. This is a joke, of course, but there is a fair amount of truth in it.

I am not going to dwell on all the details of the proposed amendments to the law. Abalkin's report will be published and everyone will be able to study it in detail. It goes without saying that the speaker was literally showered with questions, and Academician Abalkin replied to them honestly and uncompromisingly, as usual.

Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev, chairman of the parliamentary committee on issues of legislation, legality, and law and order, supported the government proposals in the main. After that, a discussion began, which as you can imagine is progressing in a very heated manner.

We will tell you how the discussion is developing in the next bulletin, but for the moment I will end my report from the Kremlin here.

Supreme Soviet Discusses Abalkin Draft Law

LD2609120289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] At the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet: This morning the session continued its work under the chairmanship of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. After registration of the deputies—using electronic equipment—the draft law on the introduction of amendments and additions to the USSR law on cooperatives as well as the law on tax regulation and the increase of funds allocated to salaries by cooperatives, at leasing enterprises, and enterprises of public organizations was presented for its first reading. Comrade Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, presented a report on these issues. He dwelt in detail on the proposed amendments to the legislation and said, in part:

[Begin Abalkin recording] The first thing that must be noted is the increased role of local soviets in regulating the cooperative movement. This is in keeping with our general course of perestroyka and the general process of democratization, and a number of amendments are being introduced which provide for an enhancement of this role—in particular, an enhancement of the role of local soviets in determining the priority directions of the development of cooperatives, taking account of the population's requirements and the situation which is taking shape in any particular region. It is proposed that the role of the soviets be sharply raised—of the soviets, themselves, not their executive organs—in the registration of cooperatives as well as in the case of a possible rejection during registration. It has been acknowledged as expedient that these issues be examined by special deputies' commissions of the local soviets and that appropriate decisions be adopted on them, taking account of the fact, of course, that the soviet itself is higher than any deputies' commission. If necessary, it can take that authority upon itself and resolve the issues independently.

It is envisaged that in cases where cooperatives are being formed at enterprises, organizations, or institutions, the agreement of the enterprise is required for their registration, and, for cooperatives organized upon independent principles, the recommendation is needed of the territorial union of cooperatives or the union of cooperatives for the activity appropriate to the nature of the cooperative being created.

At the same time, a procedure for halting the activity of enterprises is also envisaged which should be analogous to the procedure for opening them. That is, the issue is again being envisaged where the soviets might adopt a decision upon the conclusion of the appropriate deputies' commission on halting the activity of cooperatives, including at the demand of people's deputies, labor collectives of enterprises or organizations, trade union organs or consumer societies, where despite warnings about shortcomings in their activity legislation is violated and, in particular, where retail networks are being bought up with the aim of reselling consumer goods, etc.

That is the first aspect of the changes related to enhancing the role of the local soviets. All the remaining proposals are in one way or another linked to the general policy of creating equal conditions for the functioning of cooperative enterprises and enterprises in the state sector. [end recording]

[Announcer] Comrade Abalkin replied to numerous questions from deputies. Then Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee on Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, spoke. In general he approved of the proposed amendments, made a number of remarks, and told h[is] work on these documents would be continued in [the] committee. A sharp discussion developed on Comrade Abalkin's report. It will be continued after the break which has been announced at the session.

Trade Union Figure Reacts

LD2609135589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Olga Vasilenko report from USSR Supreme Soviet Session at the Kremlin in Moscow]

[Excerpts] [Vasilenko] This morning there was a discussion on the report by Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin at the session on the USSR draft law on introducing amendments and changes to the USSR Law on cooperatives. As you realize, the question of cooperatives is an extremely sensitive one in our society. Therefore, that sensitivity was reflected in the discussion on the report, for, although, it was, in my opinion, well-enough argued and convincing. Literally half an hour ago, this draft was adopted in the first reading. It's true that 70 people were against and we saw that on the electronic board which today worked to the satisfaction of all those sitting in the hall, because just 30 seconds is spent on voting. But, of course, esteemed listeners, it is interesting for you to learn the opinion of deputies on that. And, well, I have decided to invite to the microphone one of the deputies,

a Leningrader, that is Aleksandr Ivanovich Baranov. He is chairman of the Trade Union Committee of the Izhorskiy Zavod production association.

Why a Leningrader? Because among the documents received this morning by deputies there was an appeal by Leningrad trade unions to the Supreme Soviet on the fact that a decision has been taken by the aktiv to close a number of profitable cooperatives. I have correctly understood, haven't I, Aleksandr Ivanovich? Well, what is your attitude to the discussion which has taken place and to the decision which you have taken?

[Baranov] I would like to reflect a little on the situation which prevailed at the session of the Supreme Soviet today and one detail which, on the whole, hung over the end, before the interval, on the whole, evoked a certain emotional state. The speeches by some deputies, especially from the trade unions, expressed a request to Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin that he, as a member of the government, reflected the opinion of the government concerning the speeches at the sixth plenum of Soviet trade unions, in particular, which said that the government ought to examine the question from the point of view of halting either those cooperatives which do not yield additional output and to determine at least a living minimum which might to one extent or another, be a ceiling for working people, or to determine this price ceiling at a certain stage in 1990 and the year after. [passage omitted]

Leningrad trade unions have an active approach and have also supported the cooperative movement. And we have only one demand. Namely, to carry out a reregistration and to determine the quality of cooperatives working on the basis of production profits to take them aside and to help them work. Our trade unions, too, will do the same. As for those cooperatives which in actual fact contribute a negative role, the extent of usage should be decided with them. Either they will help working people or they are simply not necessary. [passage omitted]

[Vasilenko] A great deal of work obviously lies ahead, because deputies are expressing doubts on very many figues in the budget plan.

[Baranov] You are right, and I would even say that we are particularly concerned from the point of view of such facts that many enterprises already now in the examination of the question are getting out of responsibility for increasing the output of consumer goods, for raising working peoples' living provision. On the whole, in the state budget, the sum of money is balanced. When we look at the quantity of goods produced, in certain cases unfortunately it does not even satisfy the demand which there is—and even worse, of course, it is falling. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev 'Rejoinder' on Cooperatives Issue

LD2609153489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 26 Sep 89

[From the "Supreme Soviet at Work" program presented by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy]

[Text] The 2d session of our Supreme Soviet is in its 2d day. The break has now ended and the evening session has begun. The morning session considered the issue of the draft law on introducing amendments and additions to the USSR Law on Cooperatives and on the tax regulation of increases of funds allocated to salaries at cooperatives, leasing enterprises, and enterprises of public organizations. Comrade Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, made a report on these issues. He was asked a great number of questions by deputies. I would like to ask you to listen to an excerpt from the session. Comrade Abalkin was replying to questions and Comrade Gorbachev, who is chairing the sitting, made a rejoinder:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] The issue really is a serious one. Three days ago I met with workers who are members of the Central Committee and I must say that this is one of the most acute topics. There were demands that had the nature of ultimatums, simply, that it be looked into and order be imposed. The comrade workers this summer were on leave in Czechoslovakia and the GDR on a special trip and studied the cooperative movement, and they presented the following data in particular: Firstly, if a cooperative uses resources like any state enterprise, it must trade at state prices and not in any other way: secondly, if it uses resources, well, if it searches for those resources, if it displays initiative and so on, then the price is established rigorously by the state whether you want to set up a cooperative or not. But I think that it can be no higher than...they told me that in Czechoslovakia it can be no higher than 30 percent and the workers even insisted that more than 10 percent was't necessary at all.

Briefly, this issue has now affected all of society. And I can also add: How is it that when there is a lack of soap, there is soap at a cooperative, and it costs not R1 or R40 but R4 or R6? How does it get there? So I think we must resolve all these issues in our discussions in the Supreme Soviet. We must bear in mind the mood in society, and the mood is evidently based on a generalization of what has really happened. With these additions we are somehow progressing in the direction of removing those issues.

I am very concerned by this small-scale wholesale [as heard]. I will tell you honestly. Small-scale wholesale without cash payment. They take goods from the stores without cash payment. So the goods that ought to reach the sphere through a trading enterprise have gone without cash payment and then a cooperative puts a ribbon or something on it and immediately quite a different price comes into play—two, three, or fourfold

etc. In general, all of society has been involved in this and we at this supreme soviet must finally provide a response.

And the main thing is that we should keep the cooperatives because people have drawn a clear distinction. They are producing everything that conditions allow—construction materials, helping to carry out repairs—they welcome all this and there should even be more of it. And they believe that everything related to buying up goods and redistributing them and all these intermediaries are pure rogues. How are we to get out of this situation? I must say that if we don't impose order in this area we will destroy the cooperative movement in general and everything good in it. So these concerns must be removed. We simply must find an answer to this in the Supreme Soviet. [end recording]

Moscow Radio on 25 Sep Supreme Soviet Proceedings

25 Sep: 1500 GMT

LD2509162189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 25 September begins carrying a recording of the 25 September USSR Supreme Soviet Session at the Kremlin in Moscow. Supreme Soviet Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev opens the session.

At 1520 GMT Supreme Soviet Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov begins to speak. He says that the Presidium has proposed that detailed discussion at the Supreme Soviet be restricted to those topics considered of primary importance. The draft laws on the state plan and budget should be adopted no later than the end of October. He lists the other issues of primary importance to be discussed which have been distributed to deputies. These include laws on property, constitutional supervision, local autonomy, economic independence for Estonia and Lithuania, an amnesty for Soviet soldiers imprisoned for crimes committed in Afghanistan. Certain issues of relations among nationalities which were discussed at the September CPSU Central Committee plenum will be discussed such as language issues, citizenship, and others. Much work lies ahead, therefore, and success will depend on careful organization. The center of gravity of the whole activity should shift toward this. The Presidium proposes that the plenary sessions be held on Mondays and Tuesdays only so that issues can then be cleared in committees on other days. Draft laws, as a rule, will have two readings—one for general discussion and the other for item by item discussion. The session is to be completed on 24 November unless another decision is adopted.

At 1530 GMT Gorbachev asks for questions and proposals from the floor. Deputy Lubenchenko offers an opinion. Deputy Yastrebov says he is unsure about the proposals for dealing with points of the agenda and wishes provision for more detailed discussion by deputies. Deputy Desyatov calls for discussion of shortages of food and essential goods. These, he says, are primary issues. The ecological situation should also be discussed, he believes. Organized crime is another primary issue.

At 1537 GMT Deputy Gorbunov begins to speak about the situation in the Baltic republics. The Supreme Soviet should discuss the situation there. Shamshev is concerned about the contradictions in the adoption of laws at the USSR Supreme Soviets and in their republican counterparts. The discrediting by PRAVDA of Deputy Yeltsin should be discussed, and he should speak about it. There is also the issue of the Gdlyan Ivanov affair.

25 Sep: 1541 GMT

LD2509165189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1541 GMT on 25 September continues a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Deputy Ambartsumyan raises the blockade of Armenia. He says, "Mikhail Sergeyevich, first I want to give you and the deputies some information. On 21 September no train cars arrived in Yerevan. On 22 September, 62 cars. On 23 September, 64 cars, on 24 September no cars. On the night of 24-25 September four trains made up of 201 cars, instead of 1,360 cars. In 5 days 243 cars arrived in Yerevan instead of 5,940. This freight is mainly sand, crushed stone, straw, and empty tanks.

"I will speak here today very briefly on behalf of all the people's deputies of the USSR from the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, [SSR] on behalf of the electors, which means on behalf of the whole Armenian people. We consider that today our lofty parliament should brand with shame the ideological leaders and the organizers of the blockade of the Armenian SSR and the NKAO. We consider that our Soviet parliament should give a political evaluation of this fact that brings shame on our country, and which is striking an irrevocable blow against the prestige and authority of our party, our state, the idea of the unity of the peoples of the USSR, and the effectiveness of our union federation. We think that our parliament should work out realistic guarantees to rule out the possibility that a similar situation might arise anywhere else in the Soviet Union.

"In this connection, we propose that a discussion of the issue of the blockade of the Armenian SSR and NKAO by the Azerbaijani SSR should be included in the agenda of the session."

At 1543 GMT a deputy from Karelia proposes that extraordinary measures to solve the country's crisis be included in the agenda. A deputy from Azerbaijan returns to the blockade of Armenia, saying that the causes of it lie in both sides. Deputy Balayan from Armenia says the blockade of NKAO has been continuing for 18 months. Deputy Pilnikov from Karelia proposes that education be discussed. An unidentified deputy from Siberia says he is in favor of the Gdlyan

Ivanov issue being discussed, stressing that he is not a member of the interregional group of deputies.

At 1552 GMT Gorbachev sums up, saying that 2 months is very little to discuss what is in hand. The Presidium decided that the main work on and analysis of documents should take place in committees, therefore he rejects the request of Lubenchenko for greater discussion by deputies. The Supreme Soviet's main duty is to achieve results. In this sea of problems the Presidium has acted responsibly. Therefore 3 days of the week should be reserved for committee and commission work.

He goes on to reply to the proposals made by various deputies. These are serious issues that must be tackled. On the questions of irregularities at the USSR procuracy, Gorbachev reminds the deputies that Ligachev explained the allegations levelled against him to a session of the CPSU Central Committee. There was a proposal that the Soviet of Nationalities discuss the CPSU nationalities program at a special session.

On the issue of the veterans of Afghanistan he expressed sympathy for the view that crimes were committed because of the special circumstances of the war.

He says the Supreme Soviet's commission for the press should look into the PRAVDA article about Yeltsin in the United States.

At 1611 GMT Gorbachev suggests a vote be held on the agenda. The members of the Soviet of the Union vote first, followed by the Soviet of Nationalities. The agenda is adopted by both chambers, and a 20 minute break is declared.

25 Sep: 1619 GMT

LD2509174489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1619 GMT on 25 September continues a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow.

When the session resumes after the break, Gorbachev invites Voronin to speak on the state plan and budget.

At 1620 GMT Voronin begins to speak. He speaks of the need for a large-scale recovery in all aspects of the economy. During the present year the economy has deteriorated month by month, intensified by social unrest. Political participation by the masses has unfortunately been accompanied by a fall in labor discipline. Voronin speaks of difficulties being experineced in the transitional period of economic restructuring, saying that these must not be allowed to become permanent features. During the past 2 years tendencies have arisen that reveal not only imperfect economic policies but also serious social problems. Organization of production is being disrupted. There are, however, positive trends as well. First there is increased interest among workers in their output.

Voronin says the state plan has the aim of stopping the negative tnedencies, stabilizing the internal market, and creating the technological basis of the next 5-year plan. The plan is permeated by a social orientation. He lists figures for the allocation of funds in the social sphere.

At 1635 GMT Voronin says there is a corresponding investment policy to cater to the plan's social orientation. The reorientation of the economy is linked to conversion in the military industrial complex.

Voronin says the new tax system is being criticized widely. There must be strict state control over the turnover of money as throughout the world. There will be a trade turnover in 1989 of R40 billion. The agro-industrial complex is the key factor in the destabilization of the internal consmer market. Investment in the agro-industrial complex is to be increased by 10 to 11 percent. Output of mineral fertilizers and agricultural equipment is to be increased, but investment alone will not correct the situation: Land and resources must be properly used.

At 1650 GMT he says the struggle against drunkenness must be carried out everywhere, but not at the expense of creating distortions in the economy. Production of televisions, washing machines, and mini-tractors is to be increased. The republics and local organs are to play an important role in the increased production of consumer goods.

Voronin says the material base of the social and cultural sphere is to strengthened; 144 million square meters of living space is to be brought into service according to the plan. Construction of preschool establishments is a cause of concern. He says a plan for the construction of preschool establishments is to be worked out within 2 months.

The production of school equipment, including school computers, is to be increased. More hospitals and outpatient clinics are to be built. Cinemas, houses of culture, museums, and libraries are to be built.

At 1705 GMT Voronin says measures are to be taken during 1990 to improve the foreign trade balance and improve the internal market. It is expected that enterprises will concentrate on increasing profits. Defense expenditure is to be cut by R12 billion against the 5-year plan. The deficit stands at R60 billion. Foreign currency reserves are to go toward the import of consumer goods, grain, foodstuffs, and equipment for light industry.

Voronin describes adjustments to be made to capital investment programs to reallocate resources. The share of resources tied to unfinished projects is going to be cut back.

At 1720 he says a variety of measures are going to be applied to the construction industry in accounting procedures, performance indexes, and crediting.

25 Sep: 1725 GMT

LD2509182489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1725 GMT on 25 September continues a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Voronin says additional research facilities will be developed that will bring science closer to industry, but producers themselves will have to become involved in research and development. An important role in this could be played by the newly reorganized ministries.

In engineering emphasis will be put on means of production for the agro-industrial complex and the engineering industry. Voronin goes onto fuel and power problems and projected extraction figures. He gives examples of development in metallurgy. Many complaints have recently been heard against the chemical sector. There are plans to increase the output of certain products by the sector.

Voronin says increased transport services and communications facilities are also planned. The changes in the investment structure are also going to have social consequences, for example, in the construction industry where workers will have to be retrained.

At 1740 GMT he says railway transport has not been performing well. There is all kinds of accumulated goods that have not been transported as required. He says the situation with prices has to be sorted out. The trade unions have been calling for a price freeze on basic goods. A number of unpopular measures will have to be taken to stabilize the situation but the stimulating role of pricing must not be forgotten.

A high priority in the plan is given to environmental issues. A program for environmental protection and natural resources use is being drafted. As far as the republican level is concerned, one of the most important issues is the reconstruction of the earthquake damaged areas in Armenia.

Voronin says a range of new legislation to be submitted to the soviet is going to concern an expansion of new economic mechanisms in 1990. While we are firmly on the road of new economic and market mechanism, we have to be aware of the rigors of the market and its social consequences.

At 1800 GMT Voronin ends his speech. Gorbachev suggests that other reports be heard before questions are addressed. He briefly answers a question from miners concerning pensions and welfare benefits. He says further details can be obtained from ministers. A break is announced.

25 Sep: 1803 GMT

LD2509191889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1803 GMT on 25 September continues a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Gorbachev reopens the sitting after a break. Finance Minister Pavlov takes the floor and begins to present the draft state budget for 1990. Data on the fulfillment of the 1989 budget makes it possible to hope that thebudget deficit will be reduced. Revenues will be increased and expenditures cut back.

Pavlov says a great burden on the budget has resulted from the recent natural disasters and strikes. He goes on to analyze the state budget from the point of view of revenue, current and long-term spending, and the budget deficit. The enhanced role of the republics has been reflected in the budget. It is crucial to restore the ruble's real spending power. There is a new stress on plowing profits back into enterprises.

At 1818 GMT Pavlov continues on the budget deficit. The production of wine and vodka has stabilized. Defense industries have been given incentives to produce consumer goods. According to estimates, coop production in 1990 should constitute approximately R30 billion. Coops should be encouraged, though negative aspects should be eliminated. Social security measures will require more money next year. Foreign debt has grown too great. Enterprises dealing in the foreign market should not be too greatly supported.

Pavlov moves on to talk about taxes and incomes. Efforts to improve the market situation are needed all-around. The draft law on taxation has been supported by the majority of the public and will be examined. He gives details of the draft. It is part of the government's plan to improve the monetary situation. The gap between incomes is growing as a result of imbalances. There should be certain restrictions on wages while maintaining incentive.

At 1831 GMT Pavlov says prices should be stabilized. Fruit and vegetable production is to be encouraged and prices will be kept down. He gives details of budget expenditure. This area has been restructured. Allocations for social and cultural areas have been greatly increased.

Pavlov enumerates some social benefits that have been envisioned by the budget. He gives details of pensions, housing construction, and social ameneties. Allocations for the agro-industrial complex have been increased. Problems in the social sphere remain great. The material and technical base must be improved. Investment must be encouraged as must terms such as financial benefit. Loan funds will be made available to assist enterprises in reequipping and improving production. In 1990, R3.3 billion are to be spend on road construction and repair; R12.7 billion to be spend on environmental protection.

He gives further details of ecological plans and measures. Allocations to health, education, and science will go up.

At 1845 GMT he says the defense budget will go down to R70.9 billion. There will be further reductions in maintaining the military and military construction.

Pavlov then speaks about the foreign debt and its servicing. A special pension fund should be set up. Republics are to have greater independence in their budgets, but will also carry a greater burden. He gives details of republican financial autonomy.

Pavlov gives a general round-up of the main aims of the draft budget and hopes for the financial market. There is a large amount of money around and it should be harnessed to improve the economy. Shareholding will increase incentive. A state loan of R68 billion will be distributed around enterprises. Various measures are to be taken to honor state bounds of past years. The credit system needs to be changed. Cheap credit is out of the question in the present financial situation.

At 1905 GMT Pavlov calls for support for the draft budget from deputies. He thus concludes his speech.

25 Sep: 1906 GMT

LD2509201789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1906 GMT on 25 September continues a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Gorbachev introduces Kucherenko who reports to deputies on the work of the commission of planning, budget, and financing since the last session. He gives details of some of the deadlines for the commissions and committees and says Nikolay Ryzhkov will give the report on the final draft of the plan and budget.

At 1913 GMT Kucherenko comments on the tenseness of the plan. He expresses surprise at some criticism levelled against the plan and the Council of Ministers regarding it. The plan will be brought seriously into question if the social situation in the country does not calm down.

At 1917 GMT Gorbachev says there are still 45 minutes to go, and calls for Voronin again, who responds to notes and questions. He proceeds to answer a question on nonutilization of resources for cultural, welfare, and recreation facilities. Figures for various republics are quoted. In answer to another question he explains the accounting methods for health service and physical culture.

He says foreign aid in 1990 is going to be reduced by R600 million. He gives details of gas and diesel supplies and figures on investment in nonindustrial construction projects. He also gives details of supplies that are reaching Armenia along one railway line.

At 1927 GMT Gorbachev says that such a situation as has happened in the Caucasus cannot be allowed to happen elsewhere. Supplies cannot be blocked from their destinations, especially when people suffer shortages.

At 1931 GMT Voronin resumes and says that if the soviet provides the right legislation the government will deal with the situation. He answers a question on a metallurgical works near Lake Baykal, which may be built with Chinese manpower.

He gives gasification statistics and further considerations about safety of the Crimean nuclear electric power station, employment in Central Asia, and ways of preventing losses in transport and storage of agricultural produce. Provisions are being made to retrain 200,000 men who will lose their jobs in the building industry in connection with investment project cut backs.

Voronin says more money is going to be available to Belorussia to make good consequences of the Chernobyl disaster. Are the skills of the converted defense industry utilized properly? They are, they make things such as television sets.

He says the government is working on a range of ecological measures. On the issue of transferring defense industry enterprises to other ministries, Voronin says the government looked at this and decided it would not be expedient. He says trade with CEMA countries is done on a mutually beneficial basis.

At 1945 GMT he says the electronics industry is growing at 15 percent a year. The defense industry is going to produce R40 billion worth of consumer goods in 1990. He says the decision to raise freight fares on railways was right, since the railways cannot be subsidized as much as at the present.

At 1954 GMT Voronin stops answering questions. Gorbachev says they will continue tomorrow. They should still consider a procedural issue relating to the commissions and committees, as proposed by Deputy Kucherenko. A recess until 1000 (0700 GMT) 26 September is called, and the recording ends.

Lukyanov Delivers Address to Supreme Soviet

LD2509210889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1520 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Speech by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the 25 September Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Comrade deputies, in line with the USSR Constitution, the Supreme Soviet Presidium has drafted proposals on the agenda and the order of business of the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. They were discussed in detail at a Presidium session on 21 September attended by all chairman of committees and

commissions. Permit me, on the instructions of the Supeme Soviet Presidium, to report these proposals to you.

First of all, the agenda for the session. The Supreme Soviet is to consider a large number of draft laws and other matters deriving from the requirements of the Constitution, the instructions of the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies, and decisions adopted at the previous session. Right now there is a substantial bundle of such questions. Altogether there are around 60 of them. It is proposed to set the duration of the second session at roughly 2 months. Taking into account this restricted time-scale and the need to allot a substantial amount of time for the work of the committees and commissions, it will evidently not be possible to discuss all the available matters. As a result of this, after a scrupulous analysis of the questions before us, the Supreme Soviet Presidium concluded that the agenda of the second session should include primarily draft laws earmarked by us for priority consideration and also issues that are to be presented at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. Altogether there are 19 such matters, as you can see—the material has been distributed to you. Together with other matters on the proposed agenda there are 34 issues.

It is primarily proposed to put forward for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet the USSR state economic and social development plan and the USSR state budget for 1990, the drafts which the USSR Council of Ministers presented on 1 September this year. It would be desirable to adopt these draft laws no later than the end of October. This would enable the drawing up of the plans of enterprises, associations, industries, and republics to be completed by the start of next year. As you know, the work on the plan and budget began on 18 September.

A decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 24 July established that it was necessary to consider on a priority basis draft laws on ownership, on socialist enterprises, on a unified tax system, and on changes to the law on cooperatives and the draft foundations of USSR and union republican legislation on land and on leasing relations. These draft laws have been presented to the Supreme Soviet by the Council of Ministers. They have also been distributed to deputies. In line with the instructions of the first Congress of People's Deputies, it is intended to discuss draft laws at the session and then present for examination by the congress. These draft laws are on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution concerning questions relating to the electoral system, congress, and Supreme Soviet procedural regulations. There is a law on supervision of the Constitution and also some other laws connected with the activity of the country's supreme bodies of power and USSR people's deputies. Of great importance will be the consideration and adoption of laws on the general principles of management of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics and the general principles of local self-management and local economy.

Furthermore, the session ought to discuss issues on which there are instructions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This concerns bills on the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] and the Estonian SSR's transfer to economic independence, on procedure for resolving collective labor disputes and conflicts, and on amnesty for former servicemen of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, who had committed crimes and were taken prisoner by the armed Afghan opposition.

It would also appear desirable to hear at the session reports from the commissions set up by the congress and the Supreme Soviet, and if possible to begin the discussion of some other issues and bills.

We should also bear in mind that the session will probably also have to examine some issues of interethnic relations, which follow from the decisions of the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies and which were discussed at the September plenum of the party Central Committee. First and foremost, this concerns such laws as those on free development and equal rights of use of the languages of the peoples of the USSR, free national development of USSR citizens resident outside the borders of their national and state formations or not having such within USSR territory, and with USSR citizenship.

Naturally, during the session other issues may arise. These issues may not have been envisioned in the draft agenda. Subject to a Supreme Soviet decision, they can be added to our agenda or examined outside of it. The practice of Supreme Soviet work has shown that during the session various issues requiring discussion may occur to deputies. In planning our work we have to consider this as well.

Thus, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has just noted, the Supreme Soviet is to carry out a very great deal of work. It is to examine a whole range of draft laws and other matters. The success of this work depends a lot on its organization, careful and serious preparation of all issues in the committees of the Supreme Soviet and in the standing commissions of the chambers. It is precisely there that the center of gravity of all our work should evidently shift. Many deputies, as you will recall, spoke of this during the first session.

Taking these considerations into account, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has unanimously concluded that the following order of the work of the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is possible.

It is proposed to establish that, as a rule, the plenary sittings of the chambers will be held for 2 days each week—Mondays and Tuesdays—while the remaining time will be set aside for the work of the committees and commissions. Such procedure will, in our view, facilitate a more in-depth elaboration of matters and will make it possible to examine them more comprehensively during the sittings of the chambers. In particular, comrade deputies, you have already been given a tentative

schedule of work of the Supreme Soviet, of the committees and commissions, spanning the next 2 weeks and proceeding from this, and a detailed plan for the commissions and committees to examine the draft plan and the draft budget of the country. It is deemed expedient that the session should examine draft laws and other matters in the order in which they are included in the agenda of the session.

Naturally, depending on the extent to which relevant matters are ready, the chambers may choose another order of examining them. According to the temporary rules for examining draft laws, passed by the Supreme Soviet on 19 July, the draft laws will, as a rule, be examined at the session through two readings. During the first reading, a general assessment of the draft law will be given. Questions of its possible publication and of the order of further work on the draft law will be decided upon. During the second reading, the draft law will be examined article by article and there will be voting on it.

If necessary, plenary sittings of the chambers may set time aside to answer deputies' questions and to discuss procedures. A document setting out the work procedure has also been handed out to deputies.

It is proposed that the second session end around 24 November if no other decision is adopted. These, comrade deputies, are the proposals of the Supreme Soviet Presidium concerning the agenda and the order of work of the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium unanimously expressed themselves in favor of this: that the work of the session of the Supreme Soviet should, right from the start, acquire a businesslike and constructive nature. This is demanded from us by the times; this is what our people expect from the deputies.

Gorbachev Addresses Supreme Soviet

LD2509214189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1552 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev from the recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet 25 September at the Kremlin in Moscow]

[Text] Comrades, I think that the past is repeating itself—there are many questions which concern us, and I want to return to the agenda. So I put forward the proposal to conclude the exchange of views on this. Is that correct?

In so far as there will be comrades critical of this proposal, I propose to end the exchange of views on the agenda and to begin to sum up the results of what has been said, we still have to deal with everything which has been said and with procedures. Those in favor of this proposal, please vote. Now let us summarize: Whether we want to or not, it is necessary to take stock of what has been said. So, Comrade Lyubenchenko put forward the proposal to free another day in the work of committees and commissions for work in the constituencies. Comrades, I have to advise you that the organization of the work to discuss the issues—which, in one way or another, will go on to the agenda of the autumn session and the committees—has in fact been discussed in more detail perhaps by the Presidium members. The situation is this: Generally, those issued which have been planned-...[changes thought] you can see it was necessary to divide them into two groups, because even 2 months is very little in which to properly discuss what is intended-...[changes thought] what we had in mind at the spring session.

So the Presidium created two blocks. It singled out for the first block the more topical and immediate problems—and there were quite enough of these. Now, the presidium was unanimous that the most qualified and in depth work will take place in our committees and commissions. If this does not happen, there will simply be a free-for-all at the session. It is already clear that that is where the analyzing and evaluating of all the documents should take place. It is precisely on this basis that the Presidium worked out the proposal: Two days for the chambers and, where necessary, for joint sessions, and 3 days for committees and commissions.

In general, I am impressed by the proposal of Comrade Lyubenchenko, but if we take another day from the commissions, I think that we will place the most important thing under threat. After all, the people and society are expecting decisions which should reduce social and economic tensions. That is mainly connected with the discussion of the plan. It is there that market issues, financial issues, transportation issues, and economic issues are to be covered. Decisions have to be made to ensure that it also remains beyond the influence of group interests of any kind. And so on. There the aim-...[changes thought] I do not want to go into depth now about the details. Consequently, these questions will be summarized and evidently examined within the framework of the plan. Things will become clear to you. As for the point on advancing reform and on creating the preconditions for us not to continue running in place—these are the questions of property, the question of lease-contracting relations, of land—I will not enumerate them. You know them as well as I do. This will give us the possibility to move economic reform along, to move political reform along, to deal with interethnic relations in a practical way, and so on. That is, all these top-priority laws embrace this range of questions. Therefore, I think the presidium has acted responsibly and constructively concerning the sea of problems; it has introduced an organized beginning to this work.

In connection with this, I call into doubt...[changes thought] Despite the fact that, in principle, a deputy cannot work without being in contact with his electorate and with his constituency, I think that at this stage we nonetheless must accept the Presidium's proposal to keep 3 days for the work of commissions and committees. Otherwise we will not be able to cope at all. Here,

after all, comrades even expressed critical remarks advocating moving forward a number of matters. They said that they are not satisfied with the fact that those matters are at the bottom. They said they must be moved forward to another position. This means...[changes thought] and moreover, many introduced many additional, new matters. In short, there will be a need to add in Saturday, not just Friday, comrade.

I do not know. You know, I have used that proposal, so to speak, of Deputy Lubenchenko, to raise in general the theme of how we are to organize things, to return once more to this theme. We discussed this for a very long time at the presidium, and before that all the chairmen of committees and commissions and the leaders of the chambers worked on it. The Presidium corrected them and introduced these proposals which have been presented to you.

I think that it is necessary to stop at this, comrades. Otherwise, you and I will now get bogged down evaluating the future consideration of this matter. Generally, there are no superfluous questions. They are all to be found on the list. Even those questions which the comrades are raising are necessary. But it is necessary for us to make a choice.

That is the first point, Comrade Yastrebov of the commission on ecology, that I will reply to immediately. We agreed then—I think that it was comrade Salykov who spoke? [an unidentified voice says "yes"]—with the request that, until a national program is elaborated, proposals should be prepared on urgent matters of ecology. This was reported to the Presidium—the desire and intention that this theme be present in the agenda of this session. But I must inform you that there have not yet been any proposals on these urgent matters. Therefore, the Presidium placed the law in the position in which that theme is to be found.

Comrade Desyatov says that the food program must be given priority. Incidentally, he also spoke about ecology. Well, comrades, food figures and goods at the marketplace are among the most burning topics. That entire range of urgent problems is important, along with finances. Therefore, we will discuss it precisely there. It is a major section of our plan.

Comrade Gorbunov raised a question concerning Latvia. Well, I think that this must be borne in mind and that it must be included.

Now Comrade Shamshev raised the question of the law on amendments to the Constitution on electoral questions. He made the reproach that Mikhail Sergeyvich promised to send it along and even have it voted on, which gave rise to many questions and criticisms. But I think we shall always take a stand as life dictates. We shall not take an oath; the main thing is to stick to the Constitution.

What can one say to this? It is necessary to tackle this question. It should be prepared for the congress. So far today nothing has been introduced on that question. There are fights going on between our commissions of lawyers and the republics. These questions are being worked through. As soon as this subject has been worked out, we shall consult together on how to act. We have to tackle where to table it. This we have to tackle.

As for the situation in the Transcaucasus, first and foremost, I would say that the pressing part of that subject, because in itself it is broader than...[changes thought] As I said in my introductory remarks, it seems to me, on behalf of the Supreme Soviet, let's ask the government and the republics to give a report, in the course of 24 hours, on whether it has all began promisingly, that is, whether things are functioning normally with ...er, er...the road and other questions connected with supply. That's one question.

As for what Comrade Balayan raised, I am linking it to discussing the results of the work of the commission which went to Nagorno-Karabakh on behalf of the Supreme Soviet; this commission prepared its own proposals. Comrade Bisher and Comrade Oleynik told me that they have their own ideas, but their ideas need to be worked through by lawyers. I understand that they have now contacted lawyers, and they are preparing common ideas on this subject, because there is a legal question that crops up here. As soon as they are ready we shall find the time to hear them.

In this connection, comrades are raising the idea of not discussing the plan but discussing the issue of extraordinary measures. I think we have to discuss the plan, at which time the questions of extraordinary measures and those relating to the market, to shortages, and to the financial situation must definitely be solved in a planned manner as a result of discussion. We don't simply need debates for the sake of stirring up the air. The people expect a question to be posed and solved. So it is not a contradiction, but just the opposite: This is how we must act.

A question cropped up here about discussing the situation and the unlawful activities of the Commission of the Procuracy of the USSR. This probably means the plenum of the party Central Committee. [(?Lukyanov) makes an indistinct interjection] No. If this is a commission, let Comrade Medvedev investigate matters, and if it is necessary they'll report about it.

As for the party Central Committee plenum, comrades, you remember, in May, Comrade Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member against whom accusations had been made—this is all familiar to you, I don't want to touch on this subject now—appealed to the party Central Committee plenum and to the Procuracy of the USSR.

The Procuracy publicized its report, based on the examination of his statement. This is its affair—the Procuracy is working in accordance with the law. The party Central Committee plenum deemed it necessary. If you recall, at that plenum it was aware of the fact that the Procuracy

had begun to investigate the affair and the plenum heard the information given by a communist, the procurator general, pertaining to this issue.

I think that when the point revolves around such things, the plenum has the right to count upon the fact that requesting such information is legitimate, because, after all, it must make its position clear on this or that issue. On the basis of what? It does not carry out investigations on its own. As for the commissions, let us proceed in this way: Well, I think that all the members of the commissions are gathered here; Comrade Medvedev is present and is listening to this conversation. Comrade Medvedev, let us have a meeting; you will tell me what you have got and what point you have reached and we shall make our position clear. Then it will be necessary to find time to give information of one kind or another.

Let them get to the bottom of this. Let them have a session or two. Let them get some sort of balance, as it were, as far as the results are concerned, and let them report to us. So, this is...[changes thought] Incidentally, comrades have raised the matter of other commissions giving their reports. We do, after all, have point number 19—take note—on information by the commissions set up by the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet.

So then, within this point we can hear any commission, including the two about which we have spoken, so that they can let us have their views and we shall find out what's what. So this is within the agenda.

We have here from a group of deputies—I will not, to be sure, I can simply make a mistake, but certainly from various ones: We have here the national-territorial constituency number 517; the national-territorial one number 486 and so on, Comrades Ardzhinba, (Shalkhayev) and others. They propose an examination, at a separate sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities, of proposals within the CPSU Central Committee platform on nationalities policies which should be included in the agenda of the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Comrades, I think that you have noticed that we did include three blocs, as it were, of questions which are the most topical and which are now debated in society. I ticked them off as I was listening to you. These are 29, 30 and 31. If the question is posed in this way, that we ought to examine the whole platform today, I think we are not up to it, nor have all the proposals that have been put been made ready for it. I think, all the same, that this platform deserves to be studied.

It seems to me that we were right to single out these three questions that worry society today. We could table them while working on and preparing other matters—and there will be such matters, comrades. After all, what is the issue of economic independence and of ownership? What is the issue of local and regional financial authonomy and self-management? These are all issues which are linked one way or another to this platform. But there are also issues which directly come out of it—the status of a republic, autonomy of republics and autonomous oblasts, and a number of other issues.

The preparation of these issues should no doubt be organized. Perhaps the Supreme Soviet Presidium can be given instructions on this, if you deem it necessary, although an exchange of views on this did take place in the Presidium. As the issues progress and become ready they can be tabled to the Supreme Soviet. But it seems to me that to open a debate now on the whole spectrum of issues concerning the sphere of relations between nationalities—it would mean a special session, and one session wouldn't be enough. I have attempted somehow to respond to this.

What else is there?

[Indistinct interjection]

This is the same issue again. Yes. I didn't deal with—just a moment. I didn't deal with the following matter, and so it is worth mentioning. As far as the soldiers in Afghanistan are concerned, there are two topics here. The first topic is that the commission must report its assessment, and this is included as point 19 on the commission's report. It is included here. As for the actual question which deals with the human aspect, we should not wait for this commission to be ready. When it is ready, let it issue its report. That is the best option. But if not, we can make a decision on these people all the same, changing the formula. People here have been saying that it is not quite correctly phrased.

We simply have to distinguish between the two issues clearly. Those who were taken prisoner—what charges can there be? The Supreme [Soviet] has to clarify this. Those who did commit crimes- that is another matter. Then we can look into the question of a pardon. These are two different things, so to speak. So that is the way I think we shall have to proceed.

And what's this? [indistinct interjections] What's it about? Oh, Yes, yes. Fine, fine. Now that this matter has gotten out, deputies are no doubt asking: What happened, what did not happen, What's going on in the first place—is it some campaign and what is it based on?

I think that if you don't object we could set up a group of deputies. Let it listen to what Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] has to say—he could devote some time to it. He no doubt has all his speeches. He can hand them over. If necessary, let it gather material with the help of TASS. Those who have the information—let them collect it all together and report on it and provide information. On the basis of that, the position of the press will become clear to us. As for other questions, because the question was about PRAVDA, let us do it this way.

As far as the other questions are concerned, let us instruct the Supreme Soviet commission on the press to investigate it. So let the commission investigate the

matters concerned with the coverage of the activities of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, USSR people's deputies.

As far as the article in PRAVDA and the articles concerning Comrade Yeltsin, member of the Presidium and people's deputy, are concerned—let us investigate and submit a report. Finally, I'm being reminded of one last thing: Our point 16 on status should be made point 1, and point 19 on the commissions should be made point 2.

Comrades, I propose that we agree and support the well thought-out ideas of the chairmen of the committees and commissions, approved and then clarified by the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The things that worry society most have been put in the agenda. [Shouts in hall] So if we now begin to go on about our intra-parliamentary issues again, and the people see what we have started to get involved in again, I would not wish to take part in work like that at the autumn session. That is why I ask you to support the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

So, comrades, I propose voting, [corrects himself], I put to the vote, taking into account some of these clarifications, and they must be reflected in the decision that is adopted; we are voting on the agenda and the order of work by chamber. The members of the Soviet of the Union will vote. Who is in favor of confirming the proposed agenda of the session, with the amendments and clarifications that have been adopted taken into account—and this will be reflected—I am asking the members of the Soviet of the Union to vote. [shouts from the floor]. Comrades, together we determined which amendments to adopt. [more shouts] We agreed in principle to preserve the agenda that had been proposed, but to clarify: Latvia, the commission, to take into account the situation, the activity of Comrade Medvedev's commission. [sentence as heard] We agreed to entrust the Commission on Glasnost and the Press with examining some questions; we agreed to introduce a proposal on the coverage of the activity during the comrades' trip, and so on. That is to say all of that will be dealt with, what we agreed on. Those amendments. I put the question to the vote. Those in favor of adopting the agenda, with the amendments and clarifications adopted taken into account. Members of the Soviet of the Union will vote. Please raise your credentials. Please count. The counting commission too. [counting takes place] Have you counted the Presidium here? Those against? Members of the Soviet of the Union. [counting] Who has abstained?

So, 156 for; 49 against; 15 abstentions. So the members of the Soviet of the Union have confirmed the agenda.

The members of the Soviet of Nationalities will vote. Those in favor of confirming the proposed agenda of the session, please vote. Count. While the comrades are voting, I will ask Comrades Filshin and Medikov to see me during the break about their note, during the break, and we will come to an arrangement with you. 157 for. Who is against? 33. Comrades, who abstained? So the results of the voting are as follows for the Soviet of Nationalities: 157 in favor of confirming the agenda, taking the amendments into account. 33 against; 19 abstentions. So the agenda is adopted by the Soviet of Nationalities too. We should take a 20 minute break and then go on to hear the reports. A break of 20 minutes.

Voronin Reports to the USSR Supreme Soviet

Discusses Social Problems

LD2509143689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Sep 89

["Section dealing with the social sphere of our life" from report on the state plan for the country's economic and social development in 1990, delivered by Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at 25 September session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] First of all, on social problems. The social reorientation of the plan permeates all its sections and is characterized in concentrated form by a number of major stuctural shifts, comrades, reflectling a sharp change of direction in all branches of the national economy toward giving first priority to meeting the needs of Soviet people. I will name the most important of these characteristics of social reorientation. The most general of them, which enables us to bring out and sense the generally predominant trends in the economy and the strategic thrust of its development is the correlation of the resources of the national income which are being spent on current consumption and non-industrial construction, and alkso on the expanded reproduction of other forms of accumulation. That proportion is made up as follows: Share of resources for expanded reproduction is to increase in 1990 to 14 percent as against the just over 16 percent we had in 1989. A very major structural shift in favor of consumption is the sharp change in the correlation between build-up of group B production and group A in industry. In 1990 it is envisaged that growth of group B production will outstrip [that of group A] 13 times. This amounts to an extraordinary change of proportions in industry.

The next characteristics is the accelerated growth of retail commodity circulation, which is to be increased by R40 billion in 1990. I will say by way of example that in the last 5-year plan, a similar growth of goods circulation was achieved in almost 4 years, whereas now we are setting ourselves the task of securing it in 1 year, and are confident that it can be done if we work as we have planned. Correspondingly, we envisage a growth of output of consumer goods which will, as a rule, outstrip many times over the growth of other indices of the plan.

We also envisage developing the sphere of paid services at a very rapid rate. The volume of marketing of these

services which has been provided for is 11.1 percent, which is twice as much as the growth of the gross national product.

The social emphasis of the plan is secured by a corresponding investment policy. Volume of capital investment in the nonproduction sphere from all sources of finance will amout in 1990 to R58.4 billion, or almost 29 percent of the total investment resources for the national economy, as against 23 percent according to the 5-year plan; while the share of construction and assembly works is increased from 39 percent to practically 49 percent.

A most important task of the ministries and Councils of Ministers of the union republics and of the labor collectives is that of ensuring that all planned amenities in the social sphere are commissioned without fail. Today the process of conversion and defense branches of industry had been entirely subordinated to the social reorientation of the economy. Just a few examples: In 1990 alone, output of nonfood consumer goods by defense industries will increase by nearly 35 percent, to about R 40 billion.

Finally, external economic policy is being substantially reorientated, with the limits, of course, of the available foreign-currency resources, in favor of a predominance of imports of consumer goods and raw materials for their manufacture and of medicines. Thus, comrades, in the draft plan for 1990 we are carrying out a massive and broadly based transfer of the economy to a regime of most-favored status for the solving of social problems. And this is no temporary measure, but a long-term course which will be continued and taken further in the 13th five-year plan. The draft plan takes account of the decisions of the congress of people's deputies, of the first session of the Supreme Soviet on pensions and social services.

The search for such solutions was carried out, as you are aware, in difficult conditions, because the implementation of all centralized measures to raise the people's standard of living which are envisaged by the 5-year plan and which have been carried on from past years have already demanded budget allocations to the tune of over R2 billion. And taking account of the additional measures which have been worked out, these allocations have increased to almost R10 billion. In the economic situation which has come about today, this is an extremely difficult task, and resolving it in practice is directly linked with normalization of work and further development of the national economy.

The government also intends to implement additional measures to mobilize funds in order to tackle issues relating to providing for the material needs of former internationalist servicemen, and also to instituting pension coefficients in the far north areas. In addition, in the new conditions of economic activity, major social measures will be implemented using funds earned by the enterprises themselves. These include completing work to increase wages and salaries of industrial and office workers in the production industries of the national economy, to introduce additional benefits to wages of workers in the fishing industry, and a number of others which I shall not enumerate.

As a result of implementing all these measures, on the basis of the predicted increase in salaries in the national economy and also in the cooperative and private sectors, and of use of the social consumption funds to cover social expenditure, the money income of the population will generally continue to rise at rapid rates. The USSR government, therefore, has submitted a draft plan for 1990 with an issue of money funds amounting to R10 billion. This is approximately 40 percent less than we expect the 1989 issue to be, but it is, nevertheless, a money issue, comrades.

Comrade deputies, the work of the agroindustrial complex is of key importance for the stabilization of the domestic consumer market. It is planned in 1990 to increase production of the total volume of foodstuffs in the country to R156 billion—an increase of 18 billion on what we had in 1988, when we had just over R137 billion.

Reports on Economic Development

LD2509224489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Speech by Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at the 25 September Supreme Soviet session in the Moscow Kremlin—recorded]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrade deputies. The USSR Council of Ministers has presented for your examination a draft state plan for economic and social development of the country for 1990 which is fundamentally new in terms of its approaches, proportions, and proposed measures, including extraordinary measures. The source data for its elaboration were primarily the demands formulated by the Congress of People's Deputies that this plan should mark the beginning of realization of new conceptual directions evoked by perestroyka for the economic and social development of the country, for the improvement of the life of the Soviet people. The work on these fundamental directions has been conducted for a long time now. A number of variants were studied which are characterized by different correlations of the scale of resources directed to the industrial development of the production and scientific-technical potential and to radical solution of social problems. As a result of comparison and analysis of the optimal variants among the different variants for further study, a variant was developed with maximum social orientation of the economy in the 13th 5-year plan, but with a reasonable necessary amount of resources directed to industrial and scientific-technical growth of the production potential. This is the core of the conceptual directions for the development of the economy in the immediate future.

The year 1990 and the 13th 5-year plan must be a period of large-scale recovery of the economy in all areas, a

period of proceeding to balanced and proportional functioning of the national economy which ensures onward and extended reproduction given growing rates of social reorientation of the economy. These are the enlarged, principled, points of departure for the formation of the draft plan for 1990, which thereby must become an organic initial part of the long-term social and economic policy of the Party and the state in our country. Another most important point of departure for the work on the draft plan for 1990 undoubtedly is the task of vigorously changing for the better the economic situation which has come about at the present time in the country. Here are a few words about the economic situation in the country by the beginning of 1990.

We are approaching 1990 with an economic situation considerably more difficult than a year ago. The dynamism of the economy in the current year, in many of the most important directions, has decreased month by month; social tension has increased; and the balance of the national economy has weakened. In the background of these processes, shortages have grown both in the consumer market and in production. Over 8 months of the current year, of the 178 most important types of production under state statistical control, the production of 62 is lower than in the same period last year. Among these are such strategic types of production as oil, coal, gasoline, diesel fuel, fertilizer, man-made fibers, sawtimber, cellulose, hosiery, sugar, tinned goods, and well, a series of, so to speak, other articles and goods.

It is not only a matter of the burden of the past. Of course, at the bottom of our difficulties lies the lack of balance accumulated over the years. But the increase in the this lack of balace is a result of the concentrated influence on the economy of a whole set of new negative phenomena and tendencies that have manifested themselves particularly strongly in the last 2 years. The raising of the political activities of the masses is unfortunately accompanied by such tendencies as a fall in labor and performance discipline and this finds its reflection in the first place in a reduction in responsibility to contractual and plan obligations.

The democratization of economic management, removal from the sphere of central planning and distribution of the large mass of production under the conditions of the producers' dictate, the undeveloped state of the market, the irregularity of our price-setting system and its failure to adapt to market relations have apparently resulted in the breach of the direct cooperation links established over many years and in a growth in delays along the whole chain of very complicated economic relations in public-sector production. The economic independence of enterprises achieved today in the absence of such important global economic levers as market conditions, competition, and a system of union and regional taxes, and with the removal of the all-embracing directive plan targets provoked a powerful explosion of group egoism, which manifested itself in the creation of conditions for driving up prices for profit. Hence [there are] incomes and payment of work that are not equivalent in value to the real product, an erosion of cheap ranges of goods, the switching of the interests of working people in labor collectives away from the fulfilling of supply contracts and state orders to the [word indistinct] of any of their production as a means of direct exchange.

These are temporary setbacks in the transitional period. But if these processes become long drawn out, then it will be exceptionally difficult to rectify the situation. The cooperative movement, which was to have become a source with which to satiate the consumer market with goods and services, is, as you know, so far largely just processing—or even simply re-selling—state raw materials at extremely high prices, and is thus becoming more and more an additional element of social tension. There are some grounds for believing that, in a number of cases, the shadow economy has been legalized via the cooperatives—and it, too, has washed into circulation money that used to reside under a bushel.

That is the economic side of coin. But it should be stated quite categorically, that in the past 2 years fresh negative tendencies have emerged, which are not only a result of the imperfection of the economic methods and solutions—indeed, not so much that, but as a consequence of the general destabilization of the situation in society. The upsurge in interethnic and strike conflicts has literally upset many national economic ties, and has led to more money entering circulation umbacked by goods. In emphasizing the complexity of the situation, at the same time—and this is perhaps the main point—we can see positive phenomena, too, the constructive measures which, as they are undobtedly appearing in the economy, permit us to look to the future with optimism. Firstly, there is the undoubted heightened interest displayed by all working people in the destiny of their factory, and nowadays every worker really is coming more and more to link his personal wellbeing with the prosperity of his factory. Then there is increasingly comprehensive implementation of steps to introduce economic reform, which must certainly yield results right from the start of 1990.

These, then, are the basic positions in the economy, against the background of which the work to draw up the plan for 1990 was performed. In these conditions, it was essential to determine particularly carefully the most urgent goals for 1990, to select priorities, to correlate them with the conceptual thrust and implementation of them in the period to come, and to concentrate all the resources which the national economy now has on the priorities.

In drawing up the draft plan, first of all there was the task in the first place to overcome all the negative trends that had arisen, stabilize the economy, stgrengthen its social thrust, and start the systematic process of improving it financially. Secondly, to satisfy the urgent requirements of the working people and begin stabilizing the domestic market. And finally, the third major task which stems from 1990's position as the launch-pad for the 13th 5-year plan: For all the acuteness and compleity of the current problems, we cannot forget the future. It is 1990

that should set the material-technical and legislative-economic prerequisites for the forward development of the national economy in the coming 5-year plan periods. [passage omitted]

Comrades, the unregulated growth of prices for the most varied kind of production, which is at the same time not accompanied by the raising of its technical standard, quality and consumer appeal, represents one of the most negative trends. [passage omitted]

The statement of the Soviet Trade Unions on the growth of prices, the shortages of goods and the standard of living of the Soviet people, which was adopted at the 6th All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] Plenum, says stright that the AUCCTU Plenum demands that the USSR Government and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics should without delay adopt measures on freezing prices for basic foodstuffs and consumer goods. We must, comrades, adopt already in the 4th quarter of the current year the measures for the whole year 1990, which will perhaps be unpopular but which will be sufficiently effective and which will be aimed at normalizing the situation in the country in respect of both wholesale and retail prices by not concealing their stimulating role in the sphere of quality and growth of consumer appeal. All these factors are nowadays very dangerous for the economy. The plan envisages extraordinary measures aimed at their localization. But in order to implement the plan and the [word indistinct] measures, the USSR Government must possess powers adequate for these tasks. The government therefore considers it necessary to submit proposals already at this session of the Supreme Soviet aimed at adopting a number of extraordinary laws. For example the need has clearly ripened for the law on the railway and all other kinds of transport, which would declare the absolute inviolability of all railways and other transport systems and which would localize the influence of any strikes upon the railways and other organizations involved in the process of freight and passenger transportation. I am not even mentioning the power industry! There are still a number of other factors. The government possesses precise measures, which have been drawn up, and a precise idea of how we should tackle these questions at this session. An extraordinary situation requires extraordinary resolute steps. We shall not be able to escape this fact. But it is better to do things in an organized way and in good time than in slapdash manner. These measures reflect the striving of the people toward order, discipline, and legal protection.

Yet another extremely acute problem is the ecology. There is no need to speak about the importance and the neglect of this problem. This is well known. But the neglect of ecology is already now very much felt in the economy.

Many dozens of enterprises are stopping their production and we are losing the output of greatly needed products. I drew the example of the chemical and timber complex. I could draw examples like this from other branches too. There are quite a lot of them. The draft of the plan pays great attention to further widening the measures aimed at improving the ecological situation and the utilization of natural resources. Suffice it to say that while considerably reducing the volume of capital investments in the production sphere, their limit for nature-protection measures is raised in 1990 by 19 percent. There is no capital investment growth of this kind in any other branch. In this way I am able to report with all responsibility that from the viewpoint of centralized resources the ecological problems have been given strong priority in the plan for the 1990. [Passage omitted]

Voronin, Gorbachev Discuss Armenia

LD2509220889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Commentator Igor Zorin reportage of "small excerpt" from the Supreme Soviet session on 25 September in the Kremlin]

[Text] I want to offer you one small excerpt from today's session. Comrade Voronin, first Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is again on the rostrum of the assembly hall of the Supreme Soviet. He replies to the deputies' notes:

[Begin recording] [Voronin] A group of comrades from Armenia—here is a whole (?list)—ask me the question: Who must compensate [vozvesti] for the material damage inflicted on the country's national economy in connection with the blockade, so to speak, of Armenia?

Well, first, and someone spoke here this morning when Mikhail Sergeyevich opened the session, He said that no supplies were getting through at all. That is incorrect. There are three entries into Armenia, two of which are indeed blocked. These are the entry via Norashen and the entry via Idzhevan. Whereas via the other entry, Sadukhlu, there we are bringing trains through. That is why replenishment is in progress. last night we delivered 80 tank cars with gas, diesel fuel, building freight, food, in this process. But, indeed, this line can provide for only one-third of Armenia's needs. That is why beginning on 4 September we have, for all intents and purposes, been experiencing very great difficulties. It will suffice to say that we were forced to organize an air bridge at one time so that flights from Armenia would not cease.

Today it is difficult for me to say who is to blame.

We will look into and investigate this question. Today, I report: This morning, prior to the session—during the interval at the session—I had a conversation with Comrade (Utalibov). He reported that the trains had begun to pass through Norashen [sostavy cherez Norashen poshli] today, and that it was planned to take through 12 trains. This is little, because 20 trains need to be taken through there. But I can report, so to speak, that trains are coming through...

[Gorbachev interrupting] Lev Alekseyevich.

[Voronin] Yes?

[Gorbachev] I think that there is one thing which all of us—here at the Supreme Soviet—must be told; For our own benefit, for that of the government, for that of everyone and for that of the country: That on the whole such things are impermissible, wherever they take place. We can understand the issues that spring up among this or that people and we are obliged to react and act. But to resort to such things as has been happening in a number of our regions of late—including also the Transcaucasus—these are, of course, extreme measures which have very grave consequences, first of all also for the people themself, for the Azerbaijan people. If someone counted this—and we want all the time for those people—both in the transcaucasus and in the country—to be told what the losses resulting from this are, I will tell you frankly: We cannot conduct our affairs like that. And they are criticizing and blaming the Center. And, I think, you know, that the time has probably come for us to resort more vigorously to the use of methods in these questions, of such methods which would, after all, ensure the proper functioning of all systems in the country. Otherwise it will hurt us all. [applause] That is why, Lev Alekseyevich, this must be said. This is, after all, not the only knot, comrades, not the only knot. How many trains with foodstuffs are left on the border, and at a time when foodstuffs are in short supply.

I think that the sooner the government—and not only in connection with this region—[changes thought] probably, after all, in the past week the most vigorous efforts have been made there, and, evidently, things are returning to normal—for some reason I am confident. But that is not the point. We must secure the country against such phenomena. And this is why the Government must, as far as this is concerned—you have set it out in your reports—the government must not wait for us to approve plans or not to approve them—3 months of work still lie ahead of us: This anxiety must be lifted from the people. The winter lies ahead of us. Everything must be brought in—fuel supplies must be ensured—all systems must function. Can we really allow the country's fate in this way to depend on certain sentiments, even if to a certain extent they are well-founded? Have these issues arisen not without reason? We cannot do this, comrades. That is why I think that if it falls on the government, irrespective of whether... [incomplete sentence as heard]. I am confident—the fact that today we received information and the fact that you are operating together with both republics—that the matter will be resolutely turned around in a day or two. If not, then proposals should be submitted. But I think that government proposals are necessary—as the time has come—for the winter, in order to give guarantees, in order for all systems to function. If the comrades deputies agree with this, then, without awaiting the approval of the plan, the government is to be made to submit these proposals during the week. [deputies are heard shouting: right!] Good. Continue.

[Voronin] The ministries, the government, take a precise view: That what is happening is an outrage—that is putting it mildly—it is a crime before the Soviet people. As far as Central Asia alone is concerned, we suffered losses of R1 billion—what we endured in September. The government has a clear understanding of this matter, and if the Supreme Soviet provides support and adopts the appropriate documents we will establish order, because it is simply not permissible to continue to govern this way. Because of this matter the governability of the national economy is being lost. [applause] [end recording]

Pavlov Envisages Reduced Military Spending

LD2509154589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Sep (TASS)—TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The USSR's military expenditure in 1990 will be reduced to R70.9 billion, USSR finance minister Valentin Pavlov has said. Speaking today at a session of the Soviet parliament, reporting on the country's draft state budget for next year, the minister stressed that the reduction in the volume of military expenditure had become possible thanks to the USSR's realistic and constructive foreign policy.

The reduction in military expenditure envisaged in the draft budget ensures fulfilment of the proposals made at the first Congress of People's Deputies for a 14 percent reduction of military expenditure in 1991.

The reduction in the personnel numbers in the USSR armed forces and more rational expenditure of means on the use of combat equipment make it possible to reduce spending on the upkeep of the army and navy from R20.2 billion to R19 billion.

Finance for military science is falling by R2.2 billion in 1990. Spending on military construction is falling by 15 percent.

In 1989 the USSR's military spending amounted to R77.3 billion. This figure was given at the first congress of USSR People's Deputies at the start of this summer.

Gives Budget Figures

LD2509171189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Sep (TASS)—TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

At the evening session of the Soviet parliament, deputies heard a report from Valentin Pavlov, USSR minister of finance, on the country's draft state budget for 1990.

The minister reported that next year the state's incomes were set at R428 billion and expenditure at R488 billion, with a total budget deficit of R60 billion. Describing the budget as a whole, Pavlov stressed that this document

was aiming at a decisive improvement in the economy, which is in an extremely grave position, and overcoming the state of crisis in the finances.

According to the preliminary data, Pavlov reported, by the end of 1989 the budget deficit will be reduced to R92 billion, which indicates the first steps along the road to financial improvement. However, the domestic state debt will amount to about R400 billion by the end of this year. Monetary circulation continues to be in an exceptionally difficult position, and the issue of currency will amount to R18 billion in 1989 and R10 billion in 1990, said the speaker.

The new USSR budget reflects two strategic areas for the reorientation of financial policy: curbing inflation and strengthening the ruble, and increasing expenditure on social needs. The considerable rise in the earnings of the state (R54.2 billion more than in 1989) set out in the budget, with a simultaneous reduction in the state's expenditure, have made it possible to plan for the reduction of the budget deficit by half.

Valentin Pavlov drew the deputies' attention to a new element of the draft budget: its division into a current budget and a development budget. This has made it possible to analyze the need for financing new programs and to give priority to urgent social needs by sharply reducing budget allocations for material production. It is proposed to cover the existing budget deficit of R60 billion by issuing a government loan. This will become the basis for a financial market in the USSR.

The report stresses the need for improving the Soviet external market and for strengthening the financial influence on its effectiveness. The financial situation in this sphere continues to worsen. Incomes from foreign economic activity are dropping and foreign debt is growing. Its dimensions have reached a level beyond which the foreign debt is beginning to grow—without new loans—from the increasing expenditure on servicing it alone.

Speaking of defense expenditures, the minister of finance stressed that the USSR's constructive foreign policy is making it possible to lessen the burden of military expenditure. In 1990, it will account for R70.9 billion, guaranteeing the implementation of the proposals expressed at the first Congress of People's Deputies on cutting 1991 military expenditure by 14 percent. The volume of financing military science is being cut by R2.2 billion. Expenditures on military construction are being reduced by 15 percent.

Five hundred million rubles are being allocated for implementing measures to step up the struggle against crime, Pavlov noted. This will make it possible to increase deliveries to internal affairs bodies of various equipment and to raise the wages of their staff.

Discusses Economic Pressure

LD2509213989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1803 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Speech by USSR Finance minister Valentin Pavlov, from the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 25 September at the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Budget expenditure has been reduced, especially on state investments and defense. As a result, it has become possible to cover the arrears in payments from profits in a number of industries and expenditure on converting the defense industry, and—this is particularly important—to completely finance everything earmarked in the social program.

At the same time, the results could have been much more impressive but for major unforeseen losses connected with clearing up after natural disasters. They can be counted to the sum of approximately R7-8 billion.

Further pressure on the economy and the money supply was caused by strikes, and it must be stated frankly that as yet we have not found realistic sources to compensate for them. Clearly, additional measures will have to be taken before the end of the year to increase incomes and reduce expenditure in the budget. [passage omitted]

About defense expenditure. Our realistic and constructive foreign policy allows us to ease the burden of the defense budget for the year 1990. It is decreasing to R70.9 billion, which will ensure the implementation of proposals expressed at the congress of People's Deputies on the reduction of military expenditure by 14 percent in 1991. The reduction of the number of staff, and the more rational and economic expenditure of resources during the use and repair of combat equipment, makes it possible to decrease expenditure on maintaining the Army and Navy from R20.2 billion to R19 billion. The volume of financing for military science is being reduced by R2.2 billion. Expenditure on military construction is also being cut, by 15 percent, while the volume of housing and sociocultural construction is being maintained, which is also in line with the decisions of the congress of People's Deputies. Pension payments to those demobilized from the army will go up and comprise a total of R2.4 billion. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet Approves Agenda 25 Sep

LD2509132489 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 25 TASS—TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which opened here today, will discuss and approve the 1990 plan for economic and social development and the state budget, as well as several other important legislations. It is expected to last until November 24th.

Submitting to the MP's [members of parliament] proposals for the session's draft agenda and procedure, drawn up by the Supreme Soviet's Presidium, Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice-president of the Supreme Soviet, noted that it would be advisable to start with a discussion of the state plan and budget in order to adopt them before the end of October.

Anatoliy Lukyanov said that in keeping with the Supreme Soviet's July decision, the session should give primary attention to draft laws on property, socialist enterprise, a unified taxation system, amendments to the law on cooperation, and draft principles for the legislation of the USSR and the union republics on land, leasing and leasing relations.

As moved by the first Congress of People's Deputies, the session will discuss and submit for consideration to the second congress (expected to meet at the end of this year) the draft law on amendments and supplements to the Soviet Constitution. Those areas affected include the electoral system and the law on consitutional supervision. Other bills pertain to the work of top administrative bodies and people's deputies of the USSR.

According to the first vice-president of the Supreme Soviet, the discussion and adoption of laws on economic and social management in union republics and on local self-government is of great importance. Furthermore, the session will consider the draft laws on Estonian and Lithuanian economic independence, on the procedure of settling collective labour disputes and conflicts, and a bill granting amnesty to former servicemen of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan guilty of military offences.

Anatoliy Lukyanov added that the session would also hear reports of commissions formed by the congress and Supreme Soviet. It may also discuss certain other questions and bills if time permits.

The session will probably look into some problems of inter-ethnic relations covered by decisions of the first Congress of People's Deputies and discussed at the September plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

They include, first and foremost, the laws on free development and equal usage of the languages of Soviet peoples, on the free national development of Soviet citizens residing beyond the bounds of their national-state formations or lacking such formations on the territory of the USSR, and on Soviet citizenship.

The succes of the session's important work, Lukyanov stressed, depends largely on the careful and thorough preparation of all these items in Supreme Soviet committees and standing commissions of its two chambers, where most of the Soviet Parliament's work will be done.

In view of this he proposed to hold plenary meetings of the two chambers during the two first days of each week, while the rest of the time will be devoted to work in committees and commissions.

After Lukyanov's statement several deputies advanced more exact definitions and proposals to the agenda.

Anatoliy Gorbunov, president of the Presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, recalled that the Supreme Soviet of his republic had approved and submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet the draft law on the republic's economic independence somewhat later than Estonia and Lithuania.

He stressed the need of considering the drafts of all these three republics in one package. President Mikhail Gorbachev, who presided over the meeting, agreed to this.

Deputy Igor Shamshev of Yaroslavl proposed an investigation into PRAVDA's attempt to discredit Deputy Boris Yeltsin. On September 18 the newspaper reprinted an article from the Italian newspaper LA REPUBBLICA, presenting Yeltsin's trip to the United States in a poor light. President Gorbachev proposed to form a group of deputies to investigate the case.

The deputies approved by a majority vote the proposed agenda and procedure of the session with several amendments and specifications.

Then a report on the draft state plan of the USSR for 1990 was delivered by Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The deputies will also hear a report by Valentin Pavlov, Soviet finance minister, on the draft state budget for next year.

Deputy Discusses Perestroyka, Agrarian Sector

LD2509165789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1130 GMT on 25 September broadcasts an 8-minute report by correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy from the foyer of the hall in the Moscow Kremlin where the USSR Supreme Soviet session is taking place. During the interval he interviews Aleksey Mikhaylovich Yemelyanov, a people's deputy of the Supreme Soviet and an academician of the USSR Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

Yemelyanov points out that the present session's discussion of laws on land, leasehold relations, property, taxation, local self-management, and the press will embrace the country's entire socioeconomic system, whereas the first session dealt with more specific and individual matters.

He states that a radical, restructuring of the economy is now necessary because "in 4 years the people have received almost nothing, and to put it plainly, they have received nothing to improve their living conditions. The entire economy has operated for its own sake; production for the sake of production." He adds that the plan

for socioeconomic development for 1990 is part of the difficult work to restructure the economy "on the move." There is a budget deficit and a lack of resources for the fulfillment of 5-year plan targets, Yemelyanov notes, adding that "the premier, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, promised us more than once, when this issue came up at the Agrarian Committee, that resources would not be cut in regard to the agrarian sector. In regard to other branches of the economy a sharp reduction in the assignment of funds is taking place in comparison with what was set out in the 5-year plan and by our other parameters."

Yemelyanov indicates that the agrarian sector is not receiving all the funds due to it; however, he emphasizes that it is more important to take a broader view and to change one's ways irrespective of the resources which one is allocated, rather than following old ways and demanding more and more resources. While the agrarian sector received considerable funds in the past, Yemelyanov says, these did not reach the villages, but went instead to satisfy the ambitions of various departments such as that of land-improvement. It is important to direct these resources toward ensuring that agricultural produce is preserved intact when it is being stored, and also toward the construction of social facilities for rural areas, he concludes.

Work of Supreme Soviet Bodies Reported

PM2509141189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Morning Edition p1

[Report by special correspondents V. Gatov and V. Dolganov: "USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions Discuss Draft Laws"]

[Text] A sitting of a commission of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies—the Constitutional Commission for preparing the USSR Constitution—took place in the Kremlin 22 September. Questions connected with the preparation of the USSR Supreme Soviet session were examined on the agenda.

And the day before the attention of the people's deputies was focused on the drafts of the 1990 State Plan and Budget. Probably the greatest volume of work fell to the members of the Soviet of the Union Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission and the Committee for Economic Reform Questions. They are having to reckon up every clause of both drafts with precision almost down to the last ruble: The budget deficit and the difficult position of the economy are enforcing the utmost thrift. Indeed, in a number of other committees too many discussions often come down to one question: Where to get, how to earn for the sector, the funds which are lacking for its development? Where can we economize and cut back and in what in order to prevent a drop in the living standard of some categories of the population?

The members of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy are undertaking a similar quest. Their sitting was one of the keenest on 21 September. Visiting the localities and meeting with their electorate, the people's deputies discovered that not all decisions of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet are having positive influence on the situation in the labor collectives. For instance, the letters which are being sent to the commission include many which contain serious, adequately reasoned, objections against the resolution on taxing the state enterprises' labor payment funds.

"Analyzing the mail and the results of our meetings with people," deputy V.A. Voblikov says, "we realize that the past session committed certain blunders which, it seems to me, it is not too late to put right."

The fact that many pensioners will not receive the minimum pension of R70 in October although the funds gathered together with such difficulty for the purpose (readers will obviously recall the anguish with which the Supreme Soviet, Council of Ministers, and public organizations searched for them) have been earmarked for the least prosperous strata gave rise to sharp criticism at the commission sitting. The point is that not all social security organs locally have done the necessary recalculations. The deputies were also worried by the fact that the covert raising of prices and the removal of cheap goods from the range are continuing in a number of sectors. That is why the commission members intend to summon the leaders of the relevant departments to their next sittings and to amplify all existing instructions and provisions and make more specific their compliance with the session decisions.

The committee on questions of the work of the soviets of people's deputies and the development of management and self management discussed the draft law on voters' mandates. There was an unexpected turn in the discussion when deputies V.Ya. Stadnik and N.I. Travkin and some others questioned the need to create and approve such a document. And there was a reason behind their motives: Analysis shows that in the period of the election campaign people as a rule give the deputy similar mandates connected with the bad organization of their daily lives and the far from infrequent indifference of the local authorities toward the population's vitally important requests. What do voters usually request? They seek the opening of a store or bus stop, the repair of a roof, the opening up of a few km of road to a remote village, or the erection of a bridge... These are all important and necessary matters. But is it necessary to create a special law on the subject? After all, it still could not provide for all the instances which poison our daily life. Perhaps there is some point, as many deputies suggest, in providing for the relevant section in the law on the deputies' status, which would stipulate the deadlines for executing mandates and the mechanism for the relationship between the USSR people's deputy and executive power locally? Only the deputies themselves can give the final answer to these questions.

The sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission on Questions of the Development of Culture, Language,

National and International Traditions, and Protection of the Historical Heritage was interesting. Under the chairmanship of S.G. Shuvalov there was a discussion of the question of financing the activity of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting [Gosteleradio] next year and also a report from this department on the expenditure of budget funds for 1988.

As is well known, television and radio broadcasting are budgetary organizations, that is, they subsist mainly at the state's expense. It is true that in recent years—and the representatives of Gosteleradio who addressed the commission members paid special attention to this—television and radio have been learning to earn money themselves through advertising and foreign economic activity. But compared with what is earmarked for them from the budget for the development and funding of the most mass-based type of information, these sums look more than modest: over R2.5 billion from the budget, while only R11 million is earned independently.

The deputies called for the most serious accounting for the money earmarked. And although N.I. Lykov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosteleradio, who defended the department's future budget, is answerable mainly for technical and economic questions, the majority of deputies were actively interested primarily in the content of the work of central television and local studios and the ideological quality of television and radio programs.

Unfortunately, the sides sometimes seemed to be talking different languages: The department's representatives asked the deputies' commission for money for the development of the material and technical base of television and for scientific research work in the field of high precision television while the deputies, in turn, were making them answerable for the artistic quality of broadcasting.

Experts from the commission's working group helped assess the justification for Gosteleradio's financial claims. In particular they expressed very great doubts as to whether the funds earmarked could be used for any needs when the priorities for the development of television and radio have to be determined with the utmost precision today. Attention was focused in particular on the development of television and radio broadcasting in the union republics. Each of the peoples inhabiting the country must have the opportunity to be acquainted with up to date information, journalistic programs, and features in their native language. It is proposed to increase the volume of television broadcasting immediately by 3 hours in Kazakhstan and by 1 hour in Kirghizia and Turkmenia and air time will also be increased in other parts of the country.

It should be noted that so far not a single department has succeeded in smoothly passing first time the "test" at the sittings of the commission on questions of the development of culture, language, national and international traditions, and protection of the historical heritage. The deputies who have gathered here are competent and serious concerned by many acute problems of interethnic communication and also by the present state of spiritual life in their republics and regions.

But perhaps no less serious ordeals are falling to representatives of those departments which produce reports and substantiations for their budget and financial documents for members of the committee for the affairs of women and for family, mother, and child protection under the chairmanship of V.I. Matviyenko. Of the committee's 42 members only 8 are men. And women who, as is well known from the statistics, have a daily workload several hours longer than that of men, feel particularly keenly the lack of children's preschool institutions, polyclinics, rest homes, the empty shelves in the stores, the irregular nature of transport, and the backwardness of municipal and consumer services. That is why they have greater demands to make on representatives of departments. We should have more of this exactingness, and we should have it everywhere!

On 22 September commissions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies were also working—the commission for the investigation of the circumstances connected with the 9 April 1989 events in Tbilisi and the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on problems of the Meskhetian Turkish population.

Officially Friday is the last day of the work of the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions before its second session opens. But this time, however, it looks as though the deputies' leisure time on their days off will be brief: Work in the deputies' groups and the study of voters' mail, the influx of which is increasing, are scheduled for 23 September.

Political & Social

Workers Ask Gorbachev To Restore Discipline

PM2509150189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "More Organization and Order in the Struggle for Perestroyka. Meeting at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] As already reported, M.S. Gorbachev met a large group of workers and collective farm [kolkhoz] workers—members of the party's central elective organs—21 September. Opening the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said that he had long wanted to talk to them and that it was good that his sentiments coincided with their wishes, and right away he invited those involved in the meeting to engage in a frank discussion.

K.N. Panov, an expert in production training from Gorkiy's No 5 Vocational and Technical College, took the floor first. First, he said, a word about what worries us. We are, without doubt, in favor of democratization, cooperatives, and perestroyka. Let me be blunt and say that, following the CPSU Central Committee January

and June (1987) plenums, one was conscious of animation among the people. After these plenums I addressed collectives on more than 50 occasions, the people listened to me, understood me, and asked questions. Now when I come along the mood is different. There is also a certain degree of confusion among party committees and a lack of attention to people's needs.

We, workers and peasants, are in the thick of things and see everything. The disorder, the strikes, and the crime. Well, is there no one to restore order in our country? Hundreds of thousands of freightcars are not unloaded, highways are paralyzed, yet the law-enforcement organs are silent. That cannot fail to arouse people's concern! In any family, if there is no order, there will be no prosperity, and in such a vast family as ours that is even more the case. It is hard to provide people with food and create normal living conditions for them without restoring order. There must be order in everything.

N.M. Yershova, a tool setter at Perm's "F.E. Dzerzhinskiy Mashinostroitelnyy zavod" Production Association, took the rostrum. Everyone is aware, the speaker pointed out, that the situation in the country is complex. But the following question arises: How can it be changed for the better? The law-enforcement organs on which we pin great hopes of restoring order need our support and assistance. I recently visited a number of militia departments. What emerged? Militiamen have low wages and a poor standard of technical equipment. The situation with regard to housing, kindergartens, and creches is grave. What kind of incentive can there be for work under these conditions? Only if all these questions are resolved will we be able to have good and worthy upholders of law and order.

The situation in the Army is also worrying, the speaker continued. The level of the country's defense capability is a matter of concern to us. When cutting back military personnel we sometimes do not worry about their futures. Moreover, concern is not enough for those who remain at their combat posts. The problems here are the same: wages and the poor organization of daily life. Some higher military schools are currently having difficulties recruiting students.

Should the people who are being released from jail today remain outside the public view? I have visited many colonies. When these people leave the zones, they are left totally unattended. They have no work or housing. It is worth pondering what steps need to be taken in this respect.

The speaker then dwelt on questions of stepping up party influence in labor collectives. She pointed out, inter alia: There are no strikes in our city and oblast; people realize the consequences of work stoppages. But why do people in other regions not understand this? Workers rightly demand that the leaders of the oblasts, krays, and republics where disturbances are permitted be called strictly to account. Improving the living conditions of some people at the expense of others is probably not the way out of the situation.

We need to take a new look at the actual makeup of the party worker, the speaker continued. It is not enough today to be merely a good person and an honest Communist, you also have to possess a wealth of knowledge, a good grounding, and be able to freely express yourself in order to deal a fitting rebuff to anyone who opposes perestroyka and impedes progress. In this respect it would also not be a bad thing if the CPSU Central Committee were to make the corresponding amendments to party cadre training.

V.S. Chicherov, team leader at "Leningradskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod" Turbine Construction Production Association, was given the floor. In his speech he focused attention on the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum, which, in his opinion, answered many questions worrying people.

When you visit labor collectives, the speaker said, you are conscious that today's meetings are notable for their tension. Many people are offended by the following question: Why are there none of the requisite commodities in the stores, why are cases of speculation not suppressed, and why is the situation becoming worse in a number of instances.

The activity of certain cooperatives provokes very great complaints. Whoever you ask, everyone is in favor of cooperatives, but those cooperatives that work on the land and actually produce something. But there are also many cooperatives that simply buy up products in the stores and then trade in them at triple the price. The same kabob costs R5-6. Thread and fabrics are also disappearing. Women are indignant: Why do cooperatives' shelves contain everything you like, while the stores are empty? It has become impossible to sew something for yourself. When will it end?

M.S. Gorbachev: Comrade Gidaspov told me that you have finally concluded a debate which began during my visit to the Izhorskiy Plant. It has been decided to reregister all cooperatives and close down those which have taken the path of speculation.

Voices: Correct.

M.S. Gorbachev: Tell all your leaders about our discussion on this topic. And reregister the cooperatives. Moreover, we are enshrining that point in a new Law on the Cooperative System to ensure that questions of opening and closing cooperatives are resolved by a commission of deputies at the local level rather than by the deputy chairman or someone else, or just by the excutive committee [ispolkom].

Then Comrade Chicherov focused his attention on the activity of informal associations. He said, inter alia: There will soon be elections to local soviets and republic supreme soviets. What prompts caution here? Many

workers who were previously nominated as candidate people's deputies gave the following response when asked whether they would once again enter the election struggle: No, we will not take part in such campaigns any more. I believe the party has failed to take account of the assistance it should give the working class in this respect. That is why workers are becoming apathetic with regard to public activity. For instance, People's Front representatives are now vigorously presenting their programs on television, while we are keeping quiet. Informals have the resources, the paper, and the good printing presses to propagandize their programs, while workers sometimes spend months unable to gain viewing time or publish their articles in newspapers. For instance, people on the "Kirovskiy Zavod" Association's party committee do not tire of repeating: We do not have any paper or printing presses to support worker deputies.

In conclusion V.S. Chicherov stressed the need to activate worker control everywhere.

V.M. Malykhin, leader of a team of electricians at the Volga Automobile Plant, took the rostrum. The following thing, he said, used to and still does worry me. We will return from the plenum and people will ask us: What next? What steps are you thinking of taking? Let me be frank and say: It will be very very hard to answer all these questions. We are now all sitting in this hall, we Central Committee members, with shoulder boards, large ones at that, but with no stars. Yes, no stars! At present little depends on our position, for we cannot effectively call a negligent party official really to account at the local level. Our rights, the rights of Central Committee members from the localities, are not clearly defined either in the party Statutes or in any instructions. For instance, can we demand that a particular city party committee [gorkom] or rayon party committee [raykom] secretary be dismissed for failings in his work? I personally do not know. At best, if people respect you, they somehow heed your opinion. No more. Maybe we are the only ones in this position? I don't think other people have it any better. Now that the party is being accused of everything under the sun, everything a Central Committee member says must be particularly weighty and authoritative.

Many people have sent letters to me personally, the speaker then noted. I receive many people at home. It is good that this takes place at home: People can see how I live. Many people are of the opinion that all Central Committee members live in mansions. They come to see me and their opinion changes. But sometimes annoyance also takes over: We do not have even the most elementary things to hand. For instance, the form: "CPSU Central Committee Member." The same applications which have to be written out on scraps of paper. Believe you me, that is no trifling matter.

The second question I would like to broach is as follows: The people are dissatisfied with legislative indulgence. That only serves the purpose of those elements who engage in inflammatory activity and kindle an unhealthy atmosphere in society.

In conclusion, Comrade Malykhin supported the previous speakers by saying that labor disputes must not be resolved solely by the strike method. He stressed, in particular: It is mainly people with a particular grudge or who want to attain power who call for strikes. Such "figures" must be dealt a resolute rebuff.

V.T. Adylov, lathe operator at Tashkent Aviation Plant, took the floor. Addressing M.S. Gorbachev, the speaker said: Mikhail Sergeyevich, I was very hurt when I attended the First USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the party underwent 2 hours of harsh and sometimes unsubstantiated and abusive criticism. No oblast party committee [obkom] or gorkom secretary came to its defense. We all anticipated this but were not looking forward to it. Indeed it looks as though the so-called informals are more powerful today than some of our ideology officials.

The speaker then concentrated his attention on economic problems. He said, inter alia: People in Uzbekistan have reacted with approval to the government's decision to reduce areas under cotton. That will enable kolkhoz workers to be allocated 20, 25, or 30 hundredths of a hectare of land to grow vegetables and fruit. It would also be correct to continue this line further. It is possible—and I am repeating myself, Comrade Adylov continued, but I would like to stress once again: It has become very hard to meet with labor collectives. All discussion only boils down to the following questions: Why are there no soap, washing powder, sugar, and other commodities in the stores? I must say here bluntly: I believe this is due to the trade mafia. It is advantageous for some people to create a nervous situation in order to blame the party and party leaders for everything yet again. And then there are very many idlers and spongers among us. This must be done away with.

G.I. Anufriyev, a fitter and assembler at Kuybyshev Aviation Plant, took the floor next. I want to touch on two matters that have not been discussed here, he said. First. I am uneasy when it is said that the stagnation era was such in absolutely every respect. It is somehow offensive to hear this. For instance, we have spent our entire lives working. We have spent our entire lives trying to work as if on the front line: We produced aircraft. Now almost half of all passengers are transported by our aircraft. What kind of stagnation was there at our specific labor collective. I do not understand it. Some people are now speculating on this "stagnation." We workers are even ashamed to wear our medals.

The second point is the maintenance of discipline, it has declined in our collective. That is a matter of alarm for everyone.

In response to M.S. Gorbachev's question as to why the number of violations of labor discipline dropped in the first years of perestroyka and then rose once again—rose moreover at a time when management was being delegated downward, to the collective—the speaker pointed out the indeterminate nature of the decisions to utilize

economic accountability [khozraschet] at his specific enterprise. It was only this year that people had a more or less thorough sense of the nature of khozraschet.

The speaker then broached problems of the Russian Federation. Certainly, he said, we have talked a great deal—and rightly so—about Nagorno-Karabakh and the Baltic.... People only recently began to talk about Russia, when the strikes began. Yet we must always remember Russia. If you compare it with Estonia, in the industrial respect, Kuybyshev Oblast is on a considerably larger scale and produces more output. However, in the social context the population has a considerably worse life-style than the population in the Baltic. That is unjust.

It turned out, M.S. Gorbachev explained to the worker, that those regions with more union enterprises responsible for the fulfillment of important tasks had fewer allocations. That is a paradox. The law on local soviets and local self-management will set everything to rights and rectify everything to ensure that from the very lowest link upward all the soviets have a normal percentage of allocations for their needs.

To conclude his speech, G.I. Anufriyev stressed: We are not laying down conditions. We want to work. Just give us regional khozraschet. We do not have any other demands. We will all work for perestroyka.

Ye.N. Parubok, leader of a mechanized link cultivating sugar beets at the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] Suvorov Kolkhoz, was the next to speak at the meeting. He said that the harvest was quite good at his farm. Some 45 quintals of grain on average. We intend to harvest 500 quintals of sugar beet per kolkhoz. The peasants believe in perestroyka, he stressed, and expect it to proceed more swiftly. It is only the fact that, after a good start, it now seems to have slowed down that is arousing great concern. The source of the slowdown is very simple, the speaker said. Here is an example. Today a peasant, a machine operator, I, and my comrades receive a small cake of soap for our quarters. Despite the fact that dirt, tar, and dust are all ingrained in our skin. There is no hot water for the peasant, only cold or very cold water. How can this cake of soap or this packet of powder "clean up" a machine operator or a milkmaid who work from 0500 hours to 2200 hours? We must increase demands on everyone for their entrusted task; and specific concern for people must be boosted—the lack of it retards good changes.

We realize the current food situation, Ye.N. Parubok continued. We sell meat, milk, bread, and potatoes above the plan. But it is hard to talk to people when they ask: What do we get in return? There is no cement, timber costs R150 per cubic meter and bricks R100, and there are no nails. I cannot get my son two dozen school exercise books! I'm sure it's some kind of mafia doing everything, and someone is making a vast profit out of this, the speaker expressed his opinion. How can their hands be tied? How can it be that you now need R40,000 to build a home for a young machine operator, a dairymaid, or just a specialist. The kolkhoz gives R20,000. But the kolkhoz "grows duller"and poorer every year. Whereas previously a combine could be bought for R7,000, we now pay R48,000. There are new silage combines, good combines, but we simply cannot afford them. All the same we want to retain the young people somehow—they come to us willingly, we do not have an acute demand for cadres, but in order to retain them, we have to build a great deal. But to build now is difficult both for the peasant and the kolkhoz.

We have to support the countryside somehow. Do that, and then we will feed the country. Yet it is a pity that we possess such land, that our people are good people, but our shelves are empty. Incidentally, the harvest is currently under way in the Ukraine and the weather is splendid. The machine operators are in the fields day and night, but if the same thing happens as happened last year, when the entire combine and automobile fleet came to a stop an our farm—and we were not the only one—for 2 weeks because there was no gasoline and no diesel fuel, there will be no point in the peasants' salty sweat, there will be no increase in the food on our tables. Thus, specific and timely support for the countryside is necessary: coal, lubricants, and construction materials. Instead of this emissaries from various fronts and "movements" have recently been turning up with increasing frequency at grain growers' doors and inciting the peasants to attend rallies. Come to the square right at the busy time! I appeal to those who are striking and attending rallies: You will not help the cause with words, but it is easy to destroy everything for which you have worked.

I think it is time to investigate certain cooperative workers. We've had enough of them denuding our economy and miners and machine operators at the same time. For instance, they buy up state soap for 40 kopecks and sell it for R3.40. A "markup" of R3 for every bar of soap. That is the kind of "help" they give working people—legitimately at that. I have bought shampoo all my life for R1.60 in Kiev. The "Ulybka" cooperative stuck on a new label and "chases" after R4.60. That is "Ulybka" for you.

V.N. Cherkashina, a spinner at Volgograd Oblast's "A.N. Kosygin Kamyshinskiy khlopchatobumazhnyy kombinat" Production Association, spoke. She supported her comrades on the question of discipline. If, V.N. Cherkashina said, we do not perform in every work place so that our work does not have to be redone, things will never get moving in our country. Of course responsibility must be boosted, because look how many good decisions are being made in our country. But there is no one specific to take responsibility for a particular resolution and for its fulfillment. What happened to the resolution on sobriety? Those who drank still do so, and sugar has disappeared.

Then the speaker dwelt on the role and responsibility of the mass media. We have a one-sided policy, she said.

Party officials are assailed on television and in the newspapers by anyone who can, and the person who is the most severe and hurtful in his attack is the "hero of the hour." But why is newspaper coverage and viewing time not given to prestigious party officials? For we in the localities see that there are indeed conscientious sloggers and officials who do not begrudge their time or spare any efforts and who come to the collectives and help us. They also visit our labor collective councils, where they are asked very trenchant questions and do not evade them.

Everything indicates that power is being transferred, the speaker went on to point out. But, believe you me, until you go to a party official and until he conducts a thorough investigation and undertakes to handle the matter, things will not get moving. You go around dozens of offices and only a party official can help. That is a fact. Why are soviet ispolkoms still inactive? I cannot understand whether they have no rights or whether they are simply unwilling to assume this actual power.

Then V.N. Cherkashina raised an acute sectoral problem. I am a textile worker, she said, and I have been working for approximately 30 years. I have used the same equipment virtually all the time. At the 27th CPSU Congress my colleague V.N. Pletneva talked about equipment for the light industry. Some 4 years have elapsed and nothing has changed. Take our spinning machine. Even in terms of its technical data this machine is "programmed" to produce low-quality yarn. Our women, and even men, want to wear fine shirts made of light fabric. With this equipment we cannot manufacture such fabrics. We textile workers are waiting for new, qualitatively new equipment.

I have been a vegetable grower for 30 years, V.R. Parshina, leader of a team of vegetable growers from Leningrad Oblast's "Detskoselskiy" State Farm [sovkhoz] said in her speech. We Leningraders were the first to begin developing vegetable growing on sheltered ground. But labor conditions are useless. When I came here our women (it is mainly women's work. I have a team of 120 people: 9 men and 111 women) had crowbars, rakes, pitchforks, and spades, and now they have the same spades, pitchforks, and rakes, only the crowbars have gone.

In 1982, at the Central Committee May plenum, I was so delighted that you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, said: We will develop the processing and storage base. But 7 years have passed. Yet we are still losing vegetables as we did in the past. What are vegetables for our people at work? For we eat very few vegetables! But we are losing so much that our respect for our own work is diminishing. You realize what kind of mood we are in after this. Reorganization in agricultural has been very protracted, and lack of discipline is gradually filtering downward at this time.

As I understand it the country is our common home. But it looks as though trade, for instance, constitutes a state within a state. During my 30 years working in agriculture I have seen for myself that trade doesn't give a damn about what the producers lose there. The same thing happens with procurement workers. Vegetables are cultivated all year round, we have set up our conveyer, so therefore the bases must be prepared to take everything. But now they are beginning to fully vent on us their departmental grievances.

Or suddenly everyone was frightened by nitrates. How many times have I been to Leningrad Television and said: Allow me to speak, why are you stirring people up in this way? As soon as the bases are no longer in need of vegetables, immediately the television program "600 Seconds" comes on the air and says: Vegetables at "Detskoselskiy" Sovkhoz are allegedly poisoned. What is this all about?

It is very hard for workers to gain access to television. Worker Yuriy Ivanovich Arefyev addressed our combined gorkom and obkom plenum. He said. I have tried so hard and asked them to let me speak, I have something to say. I may not speak so eloquently, but I will speak from the heart and I will say what has grieved us.

I would even talk about painful matters: For young people are not coming to us now. If we vegetable growers had machines—a chain of technology from sowing to harvesting—young people would appear and other questions would be resolved.

G.V. Kasyanova, a weaver at the Krasnoyarsk Silk Combine, took the floor. Workers in our Krasnoyarsk Kray are very alarmed by the wild rampage of crime, she said agitatedly. The mafia and speculation —this contagion has already spread to all regions, and so workers are rightly indignant. Order must be restored.

And here is one other thing I would like to say. I have twice been called from Krasnoyarsk. Report-and-election meetings are now being held at party organizations, and, you know, it is no longer the workers who are indignant but the middle-level leaders—shop chiefs and foremen. After all, they, too, are engaged in the same drudgery as the workers, if I can put it that way. If you take any newspaper, all the articles are about bureaucracy. All leaders are automatically called bureaucrats. But what kind of bureaucrat is a shop chief? Leaders have been branded to such an extent that workers with secondary technical or higher education are not putting themselves forward to be shop chiefs. We were recently electing a shop chief and could not find a candidate—nobody wanted the job or would agree to take it on. That is why I ask that order also be instilled in the press. The entire country has learned about Kabaidze, the famous director. But have we just one Kabaidze in the country? Why do people not write about other directors? After all, there are large plants and we do have good leaders. We do not talk about them because people get the opinion that leaders are all bad.

I did not want to say this, but these phone calls are making me say it. You see, when the Armenian earthquake happened my whole family cried, quite honestly—we all sat around the television set and cried. And now there has been a tragedy in Maritime Kray. I know that thousands and thousands of people there have been left homeless. There has been a typhoon and people there have been inundated twice. And yet there has not been a word about it. Why is this the case? If we're going to help people we should help everyone. After all, there is the same suffering there, people have been left homeless, livestock has been killed, and the entire harvest and fertile land has been washed away. Yet the press is silent. Just how have we been helping Maritime Kray?

M.S. Gorbachev: The necessary decisions with regard to assisting Maritime Kray have been made. But it is indeed necessary to report this and provide information about it.

G.V. Kasyanova: One other point. At the start of the 5-year period we appealed to the Supreme Soviet. We in Krasnoyarsk have a very serious ecological situation. For this reason a Council of Ministers resolution was issued, but for some reason we have still not heard about it yet. We would ask that its actual implementation be accelerated.

A.Ya. Kolesnikov, team leader of a comprehensive miners' team at the "Krasnodonugol" Production Association's "Molodogvardeyskaya" Pit:

There are very many problems in the Donbass, too, he noted. However, today some people are trying to resolve them by using ultimatums—be it to the Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, or the Council of Ministers—stating: "Give me everything!" We will not solve all our problems in this way alone. After all, there is nothing particular to be given. We must work to ensure that everything is good. Following the strike our labor productivity has fallen, many people do not want to work, and not only in the coal industry. I have been down in the mines for 43 years. I have been restoring mines since 1946. And I am sick at heart. We must arrange discipline in such a way that it sticks. People say that all leaders are bureaucrats. They should not think like that! If we are to make a choice, why choose a leader who would never bawl someone out or make demands on people? That is not the way to do things. Leaders should be literate, erudite, and demanding.

I live alongside country people and I can see that they work just as hard as us miners. We must help agricultural workers today, too—they have such a vegetable harvest! It used to be the case that when the time came people would go and help. Today many city people state: No, let them bring the produce to the stores.

We must lift our party organs. Many people are confused, of course. I can understand that. Often, as soon as a party official takes the rostrum, various people start whistling or shouting. Even ordinary Communists may find it hard and may not get a hearing. Threats, too, can be heard. But we are not losing heart, and I believe we will conquer the situation.

Many ninth- and tenth-graders and students are now working in agriculture, the speaker continued. But, comrades, have you ever seen such young people and their work covered in the newspapers or on television? No, it is mainly other youngsters that are covered. Work has been pushed into the background altogether. Yet young people very much need a modern positive image of man. We show where things have been stolen, where people have been murdered, where things have been undermined. Why don't we show Emelyan Parubok, who will now be harvesting 500 quintals of sugar beets? Why do we not show weavers? When have we shown grain farmers or metalworkers?

While developing democracy in every possible way, the speaker said in conclusion, we must at the same time put certain people in their place and create the conditions for calm discussion. We need discipline. Yet today some people are demanding R25 just to go up and down the mine. The state should not spend money in this way. Money should be earned.

V.S. Kostin, leader of a comprehensive team at the "Prokopyevskgidrougol" Science and Production Association's "Ziminka" Pit in Kemerovo Oblast, spoke: I agree with Comrade Kolesnikov, he noted, with regard to what has happened to us in the Kuzbass and the Donbass. A kind of sociopolitical organization has been set up in the Kuzbass. And couriers have now been visiting us from the Donbass, Vorkuta, Karaganda, and Moscow to disturb the workers. In my view, these issues require the central organs' attention. I also think that strikes should be placed within the framework of the law. And as quickly as possible.

To turn to cadres now. Mikhail Sergeyevich, forgive me, but I must be blunt. In your speeches when touring the country you said that if people don't like a leader they should get rid of him or choose someone else... Some people are now speculating on this.

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, I know where this has been said. I want you to understand me properly. Which of you knows who is worth most? And we take this factor into account. We won't impose people on you for some reason. After all, in my opinion, socialism should be distinguished by the fact that the people choose their leaders themselves. Choosing someone competent rather than complaisant is another matter. And if someone has been elected in this way, they should be left alone for 3-5 years and allowed to develop. Then people will act with confidence.

From the floor: I would like to make one more proposal. Something to think about, maybe. I nonetheless think that there should be one or two representatives of the working class in the Politburo.

M.S. Gorbachev: This is not an idle question. I personally believe that in the precongress discussion this question should be debated—namely, the question of strengthening the working class' influence in the party.

The floor passed to A.V. Storozhuk, machine operator at the "Krivorozhstal" Metallurgical Combine named for V.I. Lenin in Krivoy Rog:

I would like to talk about Central Committee plenums. I have repeatedly submitted applications to speak. But most often the floor is given to oblast party committee first secretaries. And it is a good thing that this meeting has been organized. As for the plenum, the standing orders stipulate that speeches should last 15 minutes. But how much repetition and generalization there is in the speeches! We workers, who are used to work situations, want specifics. These are in short supply.

At the plenum yesterday people said that certain forces, shadowy forces, are at work in the Transcaucasus and somewhere in the Baltic. But why can we not see them? Why are the organizers of events that run contrary to perestroyka left alone? So, Mikhail Sergeyevich, I went to the plenum straight from the shop, from the fire—my lips are burning even now—and the workers told me: Tell Mikhail Sergeyevich and the Central Committee that we need discipline and order in the country. Democracy is good. But we need discipline, too. How do these inflammatory "agitators" travel around the country, how do they pay for it, what assets do they themselves create? All material assets are generated by the workers.

Or take the press. Most often the press talks and writes well and correctly. But why does it forget working people? If workers are featured in the press, they will be cooperative members at best.

We sometimes have no guidelines in our life. I am already set in my ways. But what about young people? Some people work well alongside us. But as soon as they follow people who make money in dubious ways and who use any methods, they turn into hangers-on. We held a trade union plenum. It is now the fashion to send demands upward, to the top organs. People send any demands, to any level. Trade unions are kicking things upstairs through their channels, and enterprise administrations are doing the same through their own channels. It is as if all demands can be satisfied in the following way: I went to our gold mountain, got out my spade, dug out some gold, and you can have it for your strike. Is that really the case? Money has to be earned! And thank you for responding to our request. City and rayon party committees in certain places have become isolated from the labor collectives. This is not right. The position of worker Communists must be strengthened.

N.A. Pavlov, oil and gas extraction machine operator at the "Surgutneft" Administration named for the 50th anniversary of the USSR in Tyumen Oblast: Mikhail Sergeyevich, you visited us in 1985, he said. I'd like you to come again. There are no more green fences. The party aktiv decided that there would be no embellishments. What you see is how it is.

M.S. Gorbachev: Has the dairy farm started producing output?

N.A. Pavlov: It is working, it was being repaired this year. We pledged to repair it and we did. It is working.

M.S. Gorbachev: Are the caravans still there?

N.A. Pavlov: There's now a small apartment block right where the fences stood. You won't recognize it when you come. But let me talk about the problems. We have a construction industry and our housing construction combine is pretty good. But there are disruptions with cement supplies. The housing program is now in question and could be violated.

One more thing—there is concern about Russia. I would like a Politburo member to speak on television on this subject.

The floor passed to G.A. Avakyan, machine operator at the Yerevan Railroad Post Office: I want to agree from the outset, she said, with the comrade who said that television and the press cover too much of the bad side of life. As if we had nothing good in this country. It has been said here that we have had strikes and that others cannot work because of them. I am against strikes. The enterprise where I used to work never went on strike, people worked properly. But, on the other hand, the strikers can be understood. After all, we had strikes after Sumgait.

The second question I would like to talk about concerns the blockade. I think that we should have forgotten this word after the end of the Great Patriotic War. But what is happening in our country now? We have been in this situation so long! We are now in such a difficult position, particularly refugees, you could not even imagine. We have no homes and winter is coming on. The builders who have been sent to us are not doing any work. The situation is very serious.

The floor was given to V.A. Petrov, a lathe operator at the "Malyshev Zavod" Production Association (Kharkov City). Our enterprise, he said, has a defense significance. Many of our workers asked me to raise the following matter: It will soon be a year since our production output fell approximately 10-fold. We need to have something to do! The most important thing is that good cadres and young people are leaving to join cooperatives. We have a work force of several thousand, efficient engineering and technical workers, and production space. You say, Mikhail Sergeyevich, that equipment is needed for light industry. We have everything here—the specialists and the equipment—so why can our plant not be used to fill these orders?

And my second question—ideology. Here in our oblast, in Kharkov, informal associations hold rallies every day and criticize the party obkom every day. And there is no

rebuttal. Even people's deputies are involved in this. Incidentally, we had expected that all the people's deputies we elected would be very concerned with the vital needs of the electorate. But, so far, some of them have not been particularly helpful.

We Central Committee members are often called upon to address youth organizations and academic establishments. Many say that young people have no ideals. This worries and pains me. I think that we and our party should somehow work together to strengthen the Communist Youth League.

The floor was then taken by T.A. Snetkova, a microcircuit assembly worker at the Leningrad "Pozitron" Science and Production Association. I am secretary of the shop party organization, she said. We talk a great deal about how we must enhance the role and authority of the party and primary party organizations. But how? We are told: Get to work in your own collective. But how? We come back from the plenum and are met with a barrage of questions. Sometimes these questions are hard to answer, but we try to tell people what was good and what was bad, how problems are being resolved, and what is not being resolved.

And, you know, people trust us. They say that, through our conversations, they feel as if they themselves had been at the plenum. But here another question arises: We have to report back to the sector, to the association, to the rayon, and to the city. How much time is spent doing this? We are workers, after all, and so we should be working. But I lose half a day's work and then have to make up the time in the evening. My team works in the evening, they fulfill the plan and earn money, whereas I have to make up for what I did not do earlier. It is true that everyone must pull their weight, but I do have a family as well. What am I supposed to do?

Our association's party organization went to the Central Auditing Commission with a proposal: Let us at least try an experiment at our association, at another association, in the rayon, and in the oblast. We will let the obkom or the raykom keep 50 percent of party dues and they will decide for themselves how this money should be spent.

People said at the plenum that the republics, the republics' communist parties, and the obkoms must have greater independence. I think that this is something that can be achieved in practice. We will maintain the party apparatus, the party committee secretary, and the party committee deputy secretary. We think we will even be able to "maintain" the secretary of the party obkom. Especially as we are also saying that we need to strengthen ties between our leaders and lower-level party organizations.

Not many people now go to work in soviet or party organs. I know many good people, but when you say to them: "Why do you not work in one of these organs?" they reply: "Why should I want to do that? I will get nothing there apart from unpleasantness and illness, whereas if I stay here in my old job I can more or less work in peace." It is a real shame that good people rarely go to work in party or soviet organs.

We do appreciate that to be a good leader you have to have worked for a minimum of 3-5 years. It is no accident that people raise the question of party committee secretaries and soviet leaders having worked for no less than 10 years. With us they managed to talk the workshop chief into becoming deputy secretary of the party committee, so he has had his salary halved. I think he will hold out for 3 years but will not be able to stand it any longer than that.

One more thing I would like to say. We say that the authority of the party, every member of the Central Committee, and every Communist must be enhanced. But you must understand that there is still injustice in the party. We come under attack from many people because we have our own sanatoriums, hospitals, and leisure centers. A great deal has now been done to bring this into line. Nevertheless, I, for example, feel offended: I was secretary of the party organization for 9 years, a member of the party raykom bureau for 5 years, and have had to work hard. But, you know, no one has once thought to say: "All right, so you are not a full time party offical, but why should you not be given a pass to go and have a holiday somewhere?" We must open the doors of all these institutions to party activists. This will only be of benefit.

M.S. Gorbachev: You are very right to raise this subject—we must look into it carefully.

The rostrum was then taken by A.M. Maksimkina, a regulator at an experimental plant under the Riga "Radiotekhnika" Production Association. The events in the Baltic, she said, are a source of concern to everyone. It is perhaps the most painful issue today. The Central Committee statement on the situation in the Baltic republics has been given a far from uniform reception. Whether we like it or not, there is a real threat of the party becoming split on the nationality issue. And another thing. You can see how many formal and informal sociopolitical organizations there are, and some of them are led by Communists. Each of these organizations has its own program and its own statutes, which differ from the party Program and Statutes. I see it like this: If these Communists join social organizations, they should pursue the party line there. But in reality the exact opposite is happening. The People's Front Duma, for example, is led by Communists and they are calling for secession from the Union. It doesn't add up.

They say that there is no moral terror. But there is. We need a sense of party comradeship. We members of the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission must go out to the collectives. But when you start to discuss things with your opponents, you often feel you have no support. Why? Because even the party committee secretaries have different ideas about how the party line should be conducted in the party committees. The party line is often defamed. Consequently, very many have

become confused and even frightened. But we Communists must consolidate our forces and together defend the party line.

The floor was given to A.P. Myasnikov, excavator operator at the Korshunovskiy Mining and Enriching Combine in Irkutsk Oblast. We greeted restructuring with great enthusiasm, the worker said. I can remember the first steps taken by democracy and glasnost. But gradually they began to turn into total license and impunity. Even Central Committee resolutions have begun to be distorted.

We have been talking about cooperatives. We were recently paid a visit by S.D. Aleshin, deputy trade minister. I said to him that cooperatives are of great benefit to us but that they are now being exploited by various wheeler-dealers. What are things coming to? Sugar is being sold at R1.5 per kilogram. It is being sold by the sackful. Vegetables are two or three times more expensive. And nothing can be done about it—the seller is a bona fide member of a cooperative. And does he actually produce these goods? For goodness sake, let those who produce agricultural and industrial goods sell them at the price they are worth. You have invested your labor. We cannot allow someone to fill their pockets at the expense of the working people.

I felt a sense of outrage when I heard that the miners were on strike. Why, I asked myself, have working people started to go on strike? It is probably that social issues—construction, medical services, the food program, and a number of others—have become extremely serious. It seems to me that central organs were maybe not clearly aware of all this. I think that party obkom secretaries must not conceal the true state of affairs from the center. If we grow 100 tonnes of grain, we must say that we have grown 100 tonnes of grain. We do not need inflated statistics. As far as strikes are concerned, I believe it must be explained to people that every strike is our loss, our common loss, costing millions and millions of rubles. If things continue this way, comrades, we will simply pull the country apart. We do not have a separate sack from which we can take and give to strikers. If we give to the miners, it means we have to cut the steelworkers short. Is that not so? Of course things are difficult and there are a lot of problems, but we must work. Work and create material values.

A few more words about distortion of the resolutions of our central organs. The transition to economic accountability and self-financing—all this is necessary. But look: Inexpensive goods are being swept away. What does that mean? Those who now stand at the helm—in other words, the plant directors—are perfectly well aware that the washing powder, toothpaste, or anything else they produce are needed by the state. But it is not profitable for them to manufacture these goods. So they produce more expensive goods and turn a blind eye to this. I believe that in this case real measures must be taken against all who are to blame for the creation of this situation. This will also show concern for the people.

In conclusion, the participants in the meeting were addressed by M.S. Gorbachev.

Yeltsin Advocates Ligachev's Ouster From Politburo

LD2509225989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2020 GMT 25 Sep 89

[From the "Panorama" program; no video available]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Boris Yeltsin was given a new epithet during his visit to the United States—the Robin Hood of perestroyka. [passage omitted] Yeltsin, like his predecessor in the legend, will not remain in his attackers' debt. Opportunity for the reply has arisen in Zelenogradsk, which is about 60 kilometers from Moscow and is one of the closed Soviet towns. A mass rally was organized here in support of the reform forces, the guest of honor of which is Yeltsin. Neither Soviet nor foreign television crews were allowed into the closed town or the hall, which was packed, except the permanent Moscow correspondent of "Panorama" who was personally invited by Yeltsin to this event.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] What is your opinion about the article in PRAVDA?

[Yeltsin, in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation] This is a lie and slander. First and foremost, it is a shame on our PRAVDA, on the paper of the Central Committee and on those who direct the press that it has adopted the writing of the gutter press.

[Correspondent] This applause is for you again.

[Yeltsin] Yes. Well, the fact that PRAVDA has adopted this article is simply a shame. [Applause]

[Correspondent] The applause and shouts of the participants of the mass rally have interrupted the interview. Yeltsin continues his reply to the question that was put to him from the speakers' pulpit so that everyone can hear him.

[Yeltsin] I have made inquiries to lawyers and it has come to light that a paper that takes over an article from another paper can only be called to account if it has paid for the material. Today, representatives of LA REPUBBLICA visited me and they said that nobody paid them. [Laughter]

This cannot be proved either way, this is one thing. But the LA REPUBBLICA has made an agreement with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI that it will publish a big spread from the LA REPUBBLICA and somewhere at the end the correspondent and the editorial itself will apologize for this great misunderstanding, which, as the Italian correspondent himself has said, PRAVDA has taken advantage of in an entirely inadmissible way regarding journalism, our journalism, and exlusively for political purposes, without the consent of the correspondent.

Thus, only LA REPUBBLICA could be sued, but is it worth getting involved in this so that the paper would

plaster my name on every page for about 2 years to come? On top of this, in our country, we have organs that would find people who would add something else to the story.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of the changes in the Central Committee? How do you evaluate them?

[Yeltsin] I already said this in your country the last time I was there and I said the same in the United States, too, that five members of the Politburo have to be ousted immediately. Miraculously, Gorbachev has listened to me, although in a slightly modified way. Shcherbitskiy and Chebrikov were ousted, but unfortunately, Ligachev, Zaykov, and Vorotnikov were left off the list.

Therefore, in my opinion, in the Politburo now the super obedient followers of the first man are sitting. There is not a single man among the members of the Politburo or the Central Committee secretaries who would be able to oppose Gorbachev even with half a word. [Applause] Well, this is my opinion.

Something different: [Yeltsin reads out question] What is going to be the role of the party in reinstating the power of the councils and do you believe that the party is going to give the power over to the councils? It did not give it over at the first congress. At the second, congress it is not giving it over for the time being. We plan that at the third congress. [applause]

The constitutional committee is at work, first on the amendment of the Constitution, and later on working out the new constitution in a way that there should be no sixth paragraph in it. Or at least, if it will be in it, then this paragraph should be formulated approximately the following way: the party or the parties work according to the framework determined by the party law.

Why can't Gorbachev remove Ligachev from the Politburo? I think that, in recent time, one of the greatest obstacle to this are the statements of detectives Gdlyan and Ivanov according to which Ligachev has something to do with certain matters. If he is relieved, would he still want to remain Politburo member or would he resign after what happened at the last Central Committee session? To my mind, some people can hardly wait for him to resign. They would have expelled me from the list of Central Committee members a year and half ago if it weren't for you. This is the point here. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

Aganbegyan Sees 'Serious Errors' in Reforms

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[Text] The Hague, Sept 25 (AFP)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev made "serious errors" and promoted "incompetents" into top economic posts during the early years of his leadership, a top Soviet economist said here Monday.

The claim was made by Abel Aganbegyan, who heads the economic section of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, at the launch of his book "The Future of Perestroyka (Restructuring)", on the reforms introduced by Mr. Gorbachev from 1985.

Until last year, "incompetent people were placed in top (decisionmaking) positions" in the Ministry for Economic Affairs, in banks and in the central state planning commission Gosplan, Mr. Aganbegyan told a news conference.

Such blunders have both delayed the introduction of economic reforms—which "only really began last year"—and have cost the Soviet Union dozens of billions of rubles, he declared.

Mr. Aganbegyan was however optimistic about the future of perestroyka, predicting that the ruble could become a convertible currency before the end of the 1990s.

Soviet enterprises will need a convertible ruble in order to compete effectively in international markets—a move which would also encourage them to improve product quality, he said.

Mr. Aganbegyan said salaries in the Soviet Union over the past few years have increased at an average between 10 and 12 per cent per annum, while the rate of inflation has been nine per cent—a significantly higher figure than officially admitted.

He noted that salaries were increasing faster than the supply of consumer goods and recommended doubling the import of goods such as clothing, shoes and food.

Poll Results Indicate Doubts Over Perestroyka

PM1909155589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Zhan Terentyevich Toshchenko, head of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Ideological Work Faculty, and Vladimir Erikhovich Boykov, deputy head of the faculty, by own correspondent S. Oganyan: "Shortage of the Individual Approach. On Our Social Self-Awareness"—date and place not specified]

[Text] "...For decades everything was done the wrong way around in our country—means of production were produced for the sake of means of production. We extracted ores, coal, and oil, smelted iron, and steel, and created machines to mine even more ores, smelt even more steel, and produce even more machines. Why did we forget just who we were doing all this for?"

The writer of those lines—F. Litvak of Kharkov—is just a part-time economist. Clearly, like all of us. Life has made us economists.

What results has economic development produced? Ignoring each of us individually, it has gotten rid of

people and produced virtually universal shortages. However sophisticated a machine may be, it remains a hunk of metal if it is not combined with people, their interests, and their personal attitudes. But how is this to be done, if there is a clear shortage of individual approaches? If everything that makes people's lives meaningful and makes them individuals is not taken into account?

These are hard questions. They were the starting point for the conversation between our correspondent and Zhan Terentyevich Toshchenko, vice president of the Soviet Sociological Association and head of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Ideological Work Faculty, and Vladimir Erikhovich Boykov, deputy head of the faculty.

[Oganyan] The results of an all-union sociological research project conducted under your leadership were recently generalized. What prompted the project?

[Toshchenko] Clearly, the same thing that prompted the letter from your reader Litvak: a desire to investigate, understand, and suggest answers. The subject of our research was people. The line of renewing our life is today being pursued through their awareness and behavior. People are a great force, but their abilities still remain potential. It has rightly been noted that we are currently experiencing an acute shortage of an individual approach: People are still not sure that their energies, initiative, and knowledge are needed by society.

[Boykov] And we can see the result of all this: A considerable number of working people distrust the economic reform. Yet for it to be a complete success it needs their trust above all. Trust as a condition of liberation, a creative approach, and interest in productive labor.

[Oganyan] What has your research showed in this respect?

[Toshchenko] Could I just say a few words about the research itself? It was carried out by the faculty at enterprises from the main national economic sectors in 14 regions and in three stages: June 1986, February 1988, and February 1989. Workers, kolkhoz members, and leading workers were polled.

So, turning to the assessments of the socioeconomic situation in the country, I would say that negative assessments outweighed positive assessments by a factor of three to four. Yes, the optimism, even euphoria linked 3 years ago with the hope of a rapid and substantial economic upsurge, economic restructuring, and the gearing of the economy toward people have now been considerably overshadowed by doubts and even disappointment.

[Boykov] Only isolated people believe that the situation in the country can be rectified in the next year or two. One out of two people expects positive change no sooner than in 3-5 years' time, and one out of four people do not believe in the success of the economic reform at all, unless its pace is accelerated.

[Oganyan] Just what is preventing people from taking the initiative themselves?

[Toshchenko] Obsolete technology, low pay, shortcomings over the supply of materials and tools, irregular production, and its consequence—last-minute rushes at work. The contradictions between the realization of the need for fundamental transformations and people's behavior are becoming clearer and clearer. Although, on the other hand, 8 out of 10 people are confident that their enterprise will be able to sharply increase output.

[Oganyan] ...But for some reason these sentiments are not being realized in "ships, stitches, and other good work" as the poet put it, or, as we would say, in soap, sugar, matches...

[Boykov] This can be explained by the increasingly obvious disparity between words and actions, and the sluggishness of the reform of our economic activity. It is this that is leading to an abrupt exacerbation of people's discontent. Just 3 years ago 88 percent of those polled thought that labor discipline had improved—today the figure is just 36 percent. Admittedly, economic leaders, in affirming the generally positive trend, are most often inclined to note the positive changes.

[Oganyan] What else can they do? It is not ruled out that, by dint of the position they hold and out of a desire to retain it, they may involuntarily resort to propaganda ploys: Things may be going slowly, but they are getting better, they will say. You will agree that it is far safer to state that there has been a certain "invigoration."

[Toshchenko] Let's not make guesses, let's get back to sociology. And, if you agree, let's talk about how leaders' prestige is currently assessed. I would say right away that the assessment is poor. Only 22 percent of workers and kolkhoz members consider their bosses to be competent specialists, and just 13 percent consider them to be good role models. Just 3 years ago the proportion of positive replies was 2-3 times higher. Incidentally, the leaders' assessments of themsevles are no less severe. And, as a result, labor collectives increasingly find themselves in the position of an orchestra conducted by a dilettante...

[Boykov] ...A dilettante who, incidentally, is prepared to learn. The research unearthed the following fact: Around 84 percent of leading workers want to improve the level of their economic competence. But the stumbling block in this respect has been the organization of the system of economic training—only 22 percent of captains of industry and 8 percent of ordinary workers approved of it. Unfortunately, in the best traditions of the stagnation period, propaganda workers continue to merely issue appeals.

[Oganyan] Arousing a conscientious, active, and individual approach to work, and providing real opportunities for people to show their ability... How is this to be

done? Judging by readers' letters, by no means all party committee and economic organ leaders have abandoned methods that are outdated but still employed. Many of them, for instance, do not understand why the annual show about labor collectives' initiative in carrying out the communist subbotnik in honor of the anniversary of Lenin's birth continues to be played out. The subbotnik has long become an obvious reality for the people which everyone respects.

[Boykov] You're right, we continue to spoon-feed people, as it were. This is stupid, of course. We continue to tell them what to read, what to watch, and how to watch it. But when it comes to the economy? Remember the fate of I.N. Khudenko's experiment or the attitude to the reluctantly famous "Arkhangelsk peasant" [hero of a film of the same name who pioneered the family contract system and ran a highly efficient livestock team]... Everything was based and continues to be based on the principle of prohibition [zapretitelstvo].

[Toshchenko] We should finally learn the elementary concept that we cannot make people happy by deciding what they need on their behalf and without their participation. Consequently, all decisions that have a bearing on people, the collective, and society should be made jointly—even if a specific decision turns out to be wrong it will not be an insult because it was not imposed.

Research has shown that discontent often prevails over a positive assessment not only when it is a question of social processes, but also when it is a question of everyday life. Only 13 percent of people believe that the level of individual prosperity has increased during the years of perestroyka. Whereas, in the opinion of 29 percent, it has declined.

[Boykov] The opinion is starting to prevail that perestroyka is currently incapable of influencing the resolution of acute social problems. Most workers and kolkhoz members (76 percent) and leading cadres (79 percent) note the deterioration in the work of the trading system. One in two people are dissatisfied with the state of public catering, and one in four people are dissatisfied with the quality of housing and municipal services.

[Oganyan] How does this affect people's attitudes toward public ownership, the running of production, and their perception of the key problems in the economic reform?

[Toshchenko] There has been a sharp increase in critical attitudes toward the economic position and the real role of workers in production. And here is the sudden result of all this. Whereas 33 percent of workers and kolkhoz members said they felt like proprietors in 1986, in 1988 this already small percentage had fallen to 14 percent and continues to decline...

[Oganyan] For some reason I recall Bondarev's airplane, which took off without knowing where it would land. Perhaps it, too, will come down, like these percentages?

[Boykov] If the aircraft is seen as the fate of perestroyka and its associated changes, then many people are worried about this image. They don't just note it impassively, they worry about it. Many people would like to be real proprietors at their workplaces, but the poll figures indicate that with every passing year working people are becoming more and mre alienated from public ownership. The cause lies in the unconnected nature of individual, collective, and nationwide economic interests. Questionnaires, as is well known, make no provision for registering emotions, but we should not feel bitter when people note instances of mismanagement and negligent attitudes toward public property. This was noted by 8 out of 10 workers, peasants, and their leaders in 1986, by 9 out of 10 in 1988, and by no less than 100 percent this year.

[Oganyan] Has the question been raised of looking for more effective levers for boosting the interest of workers and peasants? A great deal was said at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies about the lease and cooperative systems, and there were calls to ensure a favorable attitude toward the peasantry based on a consideration for their interests.

[Toshchenko] You know, people's attitudes toward the lease and cooperative systems and individual labor activity are changing. Some 69 percent of leading workers and 65 percent of ordinary workers consider the introduction of lease forms to be unconditionally useful and necessary work.

[Boykov] Around 30 percent of workers and kolkhoz members gave positive replies to the question: "Do you want to switch to the lease system on your own or in a cooperative, or to engage in individual labor activity?"

[Oganyan] I remember how certain deputies, bored with procedural questions and interrupting the gentle applause, shouted out rejoinders in the auditorium along the lines of: "That's enough time-wasting, we ought to be working!" They were succinctly but forcefully answered by Deputy Kolesnikov, who said, "Working? Yes. But to what end?"

[Toshchenko] The answer to that question seems very simple. We should be working to improve the prosperity of the country and each of its citizens, and to ensure that shortages—not just of goods, services, and products, but of mutual respect and humane attitudes toward each other—become a thing of the past...

[Boykov] All the more so as new forms of self-management are being asserted very slowly. Very few people—8 percent of ordinary workers and 6 percent of leading workers—have as yet felt the power of labor collective councils as organs of workers' self-management.

[Toshchenko] People are just as skeptical about what we have termed the "party political backup for reform." In 1986 a certain improvement in party work was noted by

26 percent of workers and kolkhoz members and 54 percent of leaders and specialists. Today these figures are 2-2.5 times lower.

People are dissatisfied with the fact that party organizations, continuing to duplicate the functions of economic organs, have left social issues outside their purview. In 1986 they were criticized by 34 percent of people for this reason, in 1988 the figure was 39 percent, and it is now 47 percent. The work style of trade unions and the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League is assessed in the same way....

[Oganyan] And what are the conclusions of your research?

[Toshchenko] There are many conclusions. But the main one is the need to attentively study people, their interests, needs, and strong and weak points.

[Boykov] The principles of the renewal of economic life should be translated into labor and social relations, and the conditions created for the full self-realization of the individual. This, incidentally, is not just the point of the economic reform, but also a strategic socialist goal.

Gorbachev's 20 Sep Plenum Closing Speech Published

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["M.S. Gorbachev's Concluding Remarks at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum 20 September"—TASS headline]

[Text] Follows the text of the concluding remarks that Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, made at the party's plenum on September 20:

Allow me to briefly sum up the results of the discussion of matters submitted for the current plenum of the party's Central Committee.

I think you would agree that this plenum by the nature of the questions discussed and by the atmosphere that was reigning here these two days deserves to be appraised as a milestone in pursuing the policy of perestroyka, in the implementation of this political course. I am sure that for these reasons it will play an important role in our history, in consolidating the party.

First of all, it is gratifying to note that the plenum of the Central Committee on the whole endorsed the new policy of the Soviet Communist Party in the nationalities question. This is a major event. Our progress to it was prolonged and not easy, but we now have a clear-cut programme of actions in this complex area of social development. Here we are at the very cutting edge, so to speak, of this grand policy that affects the entire people and all nations of the country.

The programme which clearly met with broad support of the party and the people can provide a good basis for renewal of the nationalities policy, for the renewal of the federation in the interests of all our peoples.

I believe it is important that the programme, far from rejecting, organically comprises all that has been created by peoples over decades along the road of socialist transformations in the framework of the Soviet Union.

It is also important that this is an innovative programme. It takes into account realities and suits our current needs. In this lies its scientific nature and viability. Therefore it met with broad support, and, I am sure, will yield during its implementation the fruits we hope to get.

Now that we have a programme, the party has vast work ahead. We cannot expect perestroyka to succeed in our multiethnic country unless we tackle matters of interethnic relations, development and perfection of the federation on a substantive basis every day.

In the same way, all problems of the federation can be resolved successfully only through perestroyka, democratisation, glasnost, renewal of our socialist society. There is an organic vital link between this, and we should take this into consideration in our work.

We realise that the delay in solving these matters has already started negatively affecting practical actions for the implementation of the perestroyka policies. We are aware of the complexity of the situation in the country and the need to take decisive measures to ensure normalisation of the situation wherever there is tension in interethnic relations and normal pace of work has been disrupted.

Everyone agrees that there is a need to act decisively. But it seems to me, and, allow me to dwell on this a little longer, we do not all understand in the same way what decisiveness means. Sometimes this word is used in an old sense, when to "act decisively" means to attack something at one swoop.

But now, in conditions of perestroyka, decisiveness presupposes above all a consistent implementation of everything that we envisage.

This requires of all of us huge effort, wisdom and courage, if you like. For we are now at the most responsible stage of perestroyka when the interests of entire society are affected and people are anxious that the situation might worsen, and, let's admit it, there are real reasons for such views.

But radical revolutionary changes cannot be achieved unless we act consistently, by democratic methods, push ahead step-by-step, without deviating to any side, without slowing the pace, without halting.

This is the main thing everyone who considers himself or herself a supporter of perestroyka, of the renewal of socialist society should bear in mind.

What follows from this has already been mentioned in the report: All matters should now be tackled in the atmosphere of democracy, contacts with people should be formed, and they should apply themself to goals of the party in the interests of resolving practical tasks. There can be no other road in the approach to interethnic problems. Political methods, organisational work, a new style with the reliance on the participation and contribution of people—this is, comrades, what we should learn.

And finally, I would like to say it again—and the communists, all working people should know this—we should renew the party so that the prestige it won by proclaiming the policy of perestroyka, and now also by constructive work to unite society, to resolve practical tasks, should be strengthened.

The slogan of "raze to the ground" does not suit us. The present-day tasks of the revolutionary renewal of society should be tackled in a different way. Likewise, it won't do for us in forging ahead to look back all the time, to fear complications and difficulties on the road we have taken, to regard ourselves as all but lost.

We must consolidate the Central Committee, the party, entire society on the tasks of perestroyka, renewal of society and should decisively forge ahead, yielding neither to those who would like to leave us in the past, who are dragging us to the back track, nor to those who suggest adventuristic concepts instead of policy and serious undertakings.

The present plenum shows that the Central Committee is aware of its role at the stage of radical changes in society. I wish to commend this as an important achievement, for it largely depends on the stand of the Central Committee and what is taking place in it how things will stand in the party and entire society.

An open and direct talk took place here. One can agree with some things and disagree with others. The posing of some problems of regional development as if smacked of sponging. But I would like to consider everything that was said here.

An open exchange of opinions about lapses at the political level, in the activity of government and managerial bodies, at the level of republics and regions makes it possible to see clearer what we should get rid of.

This offers an opportunity to appraise a real picture and I think it is precisely in this atmosphere that we could adopt the platform of the party on the nationalities question, a platform of which it can justly be said that it is a new development in matters of the nationalities policy and that it engenders creative thoughts in the policy of perestroyka in the vitally important area of interethnic relations.

It should be noted that we have reached accord on key questions of the nationalities policy. We realise that all the matters that have accumulated in interethnic relations can be resolved in the framework of the further development of our federation, through using everything that has been created by giving real meaning to sovereignty of a republic, by expanding rights of autonomous formations and developing possibilities and rights of all regions of the country.

We have enriched the notion of self-determination. Some try to exploit this theme for unsavoury purposes, do not give an opportunity to people to find its bearing in the essence of the matter, push them to a wrong road.

That we have openly and honestly stated our position before the people of our country and the whole world is, to my mind, a great achievement of the plenum.

In the interests of all the nations of the country we declared for the consolidation of sovereignty of the republics and the widening of the rights of all national formations, for adding real substance to Soviet federalism.

At the same time everybody unanimously declared for unity of the Soviet Communist Party, fully in accordance with the ideas of Lenin who was for the federation of nations, for alliance of states, but who utterly rejected federalism in the party's structure and functioning.

To my mind, the plenum and the preceding debate made it possible to grasp better the dialectic connection involved.

Widening political and economic rights, independence of republics, regions and autonomous formations, calling forth processes of decentralisation to enlist the energy and efforts of people, of all nations to speed up the socio-economic development of the country we also proceed from the view that the party should perform in a still greater degree the consoldiating role, rallying all the peoples around the aims of perestroyka.

With all the variety of opinions as regards the position of the communist parties of republics, of party organisations in the Russian Federation, a clear answer to arising questions has been given.

So we should act proceeding from the decisions adopted, and we should concentrate on unresolved matters during the preparation for the 28th party congress.

The plenum has firmly and clearly stated our view on the fundamental matter: We declare for the equality of nations and people of every nationality, no matter where they live and work. And the decision adopted about the role of the Russian language is important in this respect.

We have sensed and expressed the attitudes dominant in society, and this decision will have a stabilising effect, I would say.

I believe, comrades, we acted rightly when we honestly told the people that now that we take the road of

profound transformations of the federation it is important to do this without getting involved in any recarvings of frontiers, without changing outlines of national formations.

It is now important to add real substance to their rights. Following that, apparently, there will be no less debating ahead. I have already told the editorial commssion: let us take our chance of living in a real federation, with all its take our chance of living in a real federation, with all its merits, which is something that we have never done before.

Then, I think, all or most of our anxieties—life will still be posing problems—will ease. If we got involved in that matter now, and someone is pushing us to that road, we would have buried the platform from the outset and would have put society in a state where it would not be a matter of restructuring, but of how to live at all.

That the plenum has assumed an unambiguous, firm and clear-cut stand on this matter does it credit.

We now enter upon a new stage when political provisions will be considered by legislative bodies. I see the task of party organisations, personnel, communists in firmly adhering to the stance of the Soviet Communist Party platform and translating it into reality, acting by methods that are characteristic of our party—political, ideological, organisational, correct personnel policy.

Now about the plenum decision to convene the next party congress at an earlier date. It was dictated by the desire to find expeditious solutions to the pressing issues of the party's own development and renewal, and at the same time the need to sum up the results of perestroyka and work out a program of action for the next few years.

Our comrades have said here, and I think they are right, that the pre-congress period begins for us straight away. It will include the major decisions that the session of the Supreme Soviet and the second Congress of People's Deputies will adopt. It will include the preparation for, and the conduct of elections to republican and local bodies of authority. It will naturally involve the entire party not only in drafting documents but in mobilizing all its forces and its full potential for an effective performance of its political vanguard mission.

The Politburo thinks it possible to support the proposal from numerous party committees to reconsider the earlier adopted resolutions concerning the report-back election meetings in view of the fact that the CPSU is entering a pre-congress period filled with major concerns and not to hold this year's report-back meetings at the party committee and bureau levels where it is not envisaged by the party rules. This is correct, because everything should now be geared toward preparation for the congress. This will enable concentration on practical work to accomplish economic policy tasks and mount major political campaigns.

We should proceed from an understanding that congress preparation must invigorate the processes in the party, promote perestroyka, consolidate society and rally all pro-perestroyka forces, the entire nation.

I say this with confidence because people link the realization of their plans for life with perestroyka. Except for a few people motivated by their own ambitious drives, the Soviet people are interested in accomplishing perestroyka and expect that we should make more constructive efforts to ensure speedy results.

This is how we must act while combining the elaboration of long-term issues which must mobilize society at this decisive phase of perestroyka and concern for a prompt solution to numerous pressing problems relating to people's day-to-day life. This, comrades, is what we must secure by all means.

I hope that the plenum will impart a new impulse to the activity of party bodies and all communists in this significant period of preparation for the next party congress.

Supreme Soviet To Consider Legislative Package

LD2209194989 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

A package of legislative acts which, creating the legal and economic foundation of perestroika, will also be promoting the solution of nationalities problems will be submitted to the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet opening next Monday.

These are, above all, the draft laws on property, land and taxes. USSR people's deputies connect the results of the plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee that ended on Wednesday with large-scale tasks that are to be resolved by the session.

Nikolay Gritsenko, chairman of the Council of the Union's Permanent Commission on Labour, Prices and Social Policy, told TASS that the commission believes the decisions of the plenum open broad scope for work.

The distribution of productive forces in union republics should be carefully analysed when drafting the state plan and budget for 1990.

It is no secret that the problem of surplus labour in Central Asian republics resulted from defective planning and narrow specialization on the monoculture, cotton, which was mentioned at the plenum, he said.

At the same time, surplus production facilities were built in other regions, and there is an acute shortage of labour force there. Disproportions in the distributions of productive forces have a negative effect also on interethnic relations.

Gritsenko said it is very important that the plenum unambiguously declared for the settlement of interethnic conflicts through a political dialogue. The chairman of the permanent commission emphasized that the plenum sets the beginning to a new stage in the development of interethnic relations between republics and within each republic.

He noted that 60 million Soviet people now live beyond the limits of their national-territorial formations. The decisions of the plenum will help ensure that every citizen of the Soviet Union, regardless of the nationality, feel equal, and that no local laws or orders should infringe his or her interests.

"We have not witnessed strikes, the heightening of interethnic tension, division of the population according to the language", Sergey Shuvalov, deputy chairman of the commission of the Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities for development of culture, language, national and international traditions, protection of historic heritage, told TASS.

He said language problems now assumed broad political significance. They can be resolved only on the basis of equality of languages of all Soviet peoples. Participants in the plenum firmly declared for free use and study of all languages in the USSR territory.

The role of the Russian language as a language of interethnic communication was emphasized particularly. Shuvalov said that the commission will soon embark on drafting a law on free use of all languages of Soviet peoples in the USSR territory.

Joint Meeting Discusses Consumer Market

LD2209173789 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The difficult situation on the country's consumer market brought about by an uncontrolled rise in retail prices and the reduced production of cheap goods were discussed today at a joint meeting of the Soviet parliament's Commission on Labour, Prices and Wages and the People's Control Committee.

During the parliamentary recess, they jointly checked prices at 150 industrial enterprises. According to the commission's chairman, Nikolay Gritsenko, it showed that taking advantage of shortages and the monopoly on the market, the enterprises raise prices without improving quality.

The volume of trade turnover grows largely thanks to rises in retail prices, Gritsenko said. For example, in the first eight months of this year light industry output grew by 4.6 per cent in value as compared with the same period last year, but by only 0.8 per cent if measured in kind. Speakers stressed that the uncontrolled price rises largely cancelled the effect of increased allowances to low-income people, threatened the economic reform and left people no incentives to work hard.

Many stressed the need to establish stricter controls on price formation at enterprises. At the same time, it was generally agreed that prices only reflect economic processes and cannot be put in order unless the financial system is improved.

"Prices cannot be decreed, just as man cannot be ordered to be happy," said Aleksandr Zhuravlev, a deputy from Minsk. He called for a [words indistinct] in order to balance goods and profits. According to Zhuravlev this move would enable the authorities to remove from circulation a huge sum and bleed the informal economy.

Perfecting socialist ownership was the focus in the Economic Reform Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which continued deliberations throughout the week. The deputies discussed ways to overcome the alienation of working people from the means of production, to change people's attitude to work by changing their attitude to ownership.

The ownership law, put on the agenda of the second session, should become a central link of a new major stage of ecconomic reform in the country. As is know, the country's government proposed a draft law to the Soviet parliament. At the same time several alternative variants, drafted by a group of scientists, were also submitted to this parliamentary committee. At present members of the Supreme Soviet committee are closely studying these proposals.

Council of Ministers Study Consumer Goods Output

LD2309204889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] And now, information from the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers Presidium has heard reports by a number of ministers on measures being undertaken to fulfill targets for the production of goods in mass demand, and the delivery of these goods to the market. Unfortunately, we know well that the state of affairs in the consumer market continues to be tense with regard to many kinds of goods. At the session of the Council of Ministers presidium there was sharp criticism of Pugin, minister of automotive and agricultural machine building, and Anfimov, minister of the electrical equipment industry and instrument making, whose enterprises have allowed the greatest lags in the output of consumer goods. The trade sector—and consequently we—have failed to receive goods worth over R8 billion, including washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, and much else, since January.

At the session it was stated that due attention is not being paid to the problem of improving the foodstuffs supply. A complex situation has arisen with regard to the rail transportation of foodstuff and nonfoodstuff goods. According to a statement by Konarev, minister of railways, some 1,000 railcars carrying foodstuffs and goods

had not been unloaded in Leningrad as of 21 September. Almost the same number of railcars with the same cargoes has mounted up in Moscow. There are over 20,000 containers, principally of industrial consumer goods and conserved foodstuffs, in cargo yards and container areas here, too. The Moscow City Soviet, the Leningrad City Soviet, and the Ministry of Trade are not taking measures to accelerate the unloading. Proposals were even voiced at the session about transferring consumer goods, in particular foodstuffs, to other regions which take a shorter time to unload the railcars. The attention of leaders of ministries and departments was once again drawn to the need to sharply increase accountability for these matters.

Ministers Discusses Shortcomings

LD2309204389 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers has heard the reports by a number of ministers on measures being taken to ensure implementation of the assignments for the production of consumer goods and their supply to the market.

This year's increment in commodities is to amount to almost 35,000 million roubles, or double as compared with the previous year, it was noted at the meeting. Funds have been found and additional purchases are being made to import about 10,000 million roubles worth of commodities.

But the state of affairs in the market of many consumer goods remains tense. Trade was short of 8,400 million roubles' worth of commodities from January to August. Trade failed to get a 2,700 million roubles' worth of food products in the past eight months. The Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Moldavia, Latvia and Estonia failed to ensure deliveries of meat, milk and potato to the All-Union fund.

The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium stated that the attitude of senior officials of ministries and departments of the USSR, Councils of Ministers of union republics to ensuring deliveries to the consumer market was intolerable and demanded that they should take every measure to see to it that the assignments set for 1989 be sure to be fulfilled.

Officials Address Ideological Department Heads

LD2209170689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] The ideological department chiefs of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, kray, and oblast party committees completed their studies in the institute to raise the qualification of leading party, local soviets, and ideological cadres of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. Current theoretical problems on the conception of socialism and on other major questions regarding party life were examined.

The audience was addressed by Comrade Medvedev, Kryuchkov, Lukyanov, Abalkin, Kapto, Vlasov, Nenashev, Kravchenko, Rusak, and by senior workers of the CPSU Central Committee, ministries, scientists, cultural and arts figures, and journalists.

Political Strikes End in Moldavian Cities

LD2509141289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1303 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Kishinev, 25 Sep (ATEM-TASS)—The political strikes in the Moldavian cities of Tiraspol and Bendery have ended. The work forces of almost 100 enterprises in these cities returned to their workplaces today after an interval of more than a month.

"The working people of Tiraspol and Bendery, as well as of other towns and settlements in the republic, hope that the demands which they have put forward, specifically on recognition of the parity of the two languages—Moldavian and Russian—will be examined at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which began today, our correspondent was told by Vladimir Ivanov, cochairman of the republican strike committee. "Many town and rayon soviets of people's deputies have adopted a decision to halt the operation of the recently adopted laws on languages on their territories. At present the Russian and Moldavian languages enjoy equal rights there and, in places where the Gagauz and Ukrainians live in compact groups, so do their mother languages."

"A concerned discussion of the party platform on the nationality issue, which was adopted at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, is now going on in the city's labor collectives," stressed Pavel Tsymay, first secretary of the Bendery party gorkom. "There is particular approval of the proposal to give the Russian language the status of a general state language, a proposal which was heard in Mikhail Gorbachev's report at the CPSU Central Committee plenum. This proposal is similar to the standpoint of the striking workers who have addressed a request to the country's Supreme Soviet on the adoption of a law on the state language of the USSR."

Strike committees remain at all of the enterprises which were on strike. Their activity is aimed at maintaining the political activeness of the working class, and at ensuring that new people who are devoted to perestroyka are in charge of the electoral bodies in the process of the report-back and election meetings which are now taking place in party and public organizations.

Baltic Economic Coordination Forum Held

PM2509091189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Dispatch by Irina Litvinova under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Own Correspondents at Teleprinter": "Baltic Market"]

[Text] Riga—ATMODA, the bulletin of the Latvian People's Front, has published items on the interrepublican conference on the development of direct economic ties between Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The conference was organized by "Sajudis," the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka, and the Latvian and Estonian People's Fronts—with the participation of workers from Councils of Ministers, state planning committees, and other republican ministries and departments.

The conference adopted a communique on questions of economic cooperation and the creation of a Baltic market. Its aim is "the coordination of the production conditions for forming an integrated economic complex in the Baltic republics and the coordination of foreign economic activity."

The formation of a Baltic market envisages two stages. For the first—through 1993—the main aim is "the elaboration of intergovernmental agreements on regulating and bringing closer the economic and legal conditions for production and trade in the Baltic republics." At the second stage the main thing will be the formation of an integral integration mechanism in relations with the other union republics and with third countries.

The Baltic council, which includes the leaders of "Sajudis" and the Latvian and Estonian people's fronts, has adopted a decision on cooperation in the economic sphere. The decision states: "At an important period for all three republics, when the transition to a market economy is emerging, the restricted nature of the internal market of each republic and the dispersal of their economic potential is being revealed, which could delay further development, and when the destruction of traditional economic ties and the threat of a boycott from central departments and planning is becoming an obvious reality—the integration of the Baltic economy comes to the fore." The fulfillment of contract commitments among the enterprises of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia has been deemed extraordinarily important. In the council's opinion the monitoring of their fulfillment should be entrusted to groups of public movements at enterprises. In the near future it is proposed to reach "accord on the possibility of unified access for citizens of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia to consumer goods within the three republics' consumer market."

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Adjourns Until 28 Sep

PM2509090589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[Special correspondent Captain 3d Rank A. Orlov report: "To Assess the Situation Realistically"]

[Text] Vilnius, 23 Sep—After several postponements the 13th Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Session began its work in Vilnius 22 September. It is taking place in the complex interethnic situation characteristic of the republic.

On the 1st day of work the deputies arriving at the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet building were greeted by the following picture. In the square there were two obviously opposed groups of people with slogans, banners, and flags. On one side there was salutatory chanting in honor of the Lithuanian people's deputies belonging to "Sajudis," and on the other silence and only posters raised higher: "We demand justice!" This slogan belongs to "Vienybe-Yedinstvo-Jednosc"—the Lithuanian International Front.

The session began its work with a statement on the political situation in the republic. Confirming in his report his commitment to perestroyka and renewal, V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, emphasized that the situation can be described as difficult and even complex but not critical. Of course, he said, hardly anyone would dare to guarantee that the situation will not be further complicated unless it is assessed realistically....

The second item discussed by the session was the report by USSR People's Deputy K. Prunskene, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, on the implementation of the Lithuanian SSR's economic independence. After the debate a resolution was unanimously adopted to approve the submitted draft USSR Law "On Economic Independence for the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR's," which it is proposed to submit for discussion to the upcoming second USSR Supreme Soviet Session.

In all, nine questions are proposed for discussion by Lithuanian people's deputies. They include a hearing on the Lithuanian SSR draft Law on Citizenship and a discussion of the draft Law on Amending the Lithuanian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law), which is aimed, as noted in the agenda, at improving the electoral system, the structure and powers of organs of state power and management, and also the court system. In the opinion of military deputies, there will also be a sharp discussion of one other question: information on military service for the republic's young men.

The atmosphere in which the session is taking place may probably best be characterized by the fact that almost every speaker mentions the need for tolerance toward the opposite opinion, toward the views of another person.

By decision of the deputies, the session was suspended until 28 September.

Astrauskas Says Lithuanian Situation 'Not Critical'

LD2209212189 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Vilnius September 23 TASS—A session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, or legislature, opened in Vilnius on Friday [22 September].

It approved an agenda and debated the political situation in the republic. The session was addressed by President Vytautas Astrauskas who said that the political situation in Lithuania was complicated but not critical.

He stressed the need to act in future using democratic and legal means to restore Lithuania's statehood and sovereignty and create more favourable conditions for productive work and prosperous life.

The Lithuanian president called upon all people of good will, public organisations and movements, work collectives and local soviets of people's deputies to rally their forces in opposition to instigators of ethnic strife and all factors that hinder progress and perestroyka.

The Lithuanian parliament is expected to adopt a statement on the issue.

The parliamentary session considered matters relating to the exercise of the republic's economic independence.

Its further work will centre upon the promulgation of the law on referendums and amendments to the Constitution of the Lithuanian Republic.

The session will hear reports on the work of the parliamentary commission for examining the German-Soviet 1939 treaties and their consequences and on the progress of discussion concerning the draft law of the republic "on the citizenship of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic" and other matters.

Taking part in the work of the session is first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Algirdas-Mikolas Brazauskas.

The parliament will continue its session on Saturday.

Editor Criticizes CPSU Declaration, Press

LD2509140089 Vilnius GIMTASIS KRASTAS in Lithuanian No 35, 31 Aug 89 p 3

[Commentary by Rimvydas Valatka, Assistant to Chief Editor, History, Emigre, Farmer and Cooperative areas, "Savaite" (Week Section)]

[Excerpts] Lithuania has only once previously lived through a Moscow propaganda attack, similar to the one launched this week; it happened while it was still free—prior to 15 June 1940. The earlier attack, consisted of accusations of transgressions against the agreement with the USSR, provocations, soldier kidnappings and other bourgeois sins. The current version includes accusations of—"nationalistic hysteria," "egotistical aims," "separatism," "extremism" and "desecration of graves." Even the fanning of separatist tendencies, in Moldavia, was attributed to us. Poor V. Lenin, who in his last works, had been presenting arguments illustrating the absurdity of revolution export.

But let us return to the beginning of the week, when PRAVDA launched an attack against USSR Soviet Deputies of Sajudis—for "duplicity" and attacked Lithuanian Communist Party Ideology Section Chief, J. Paleckis—for the Gotland Communique; we were not aware of the fact at that time that this was the start of a future spectacle. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and Moscow Television immediately spoke out, in Molotov ultimatum fashion; they have spent the entire week, competing with PRAVDA, to establish more suggestively the image of a new USSR enemy—the Balt. Lithuanians took the brunt of this probably because they have been the most successful in withtstanding 50 years of Sovietization and, of course, also because of the conclusions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission For Investigation of the USSR-Germany Agreements And Their Consequences. How could the dwarf dare to confront the giant with the bitter truth! The pinnacle of the propaganda hysteria was, of course, the CPSU Central Committee declaration.

Does history repeat itself? In different fashion, however, from 1940, as Stalinists encroached upon Lithuania's freedom and that became the start of a great tragedy, so the current Molotov-like abuse and Moscow press falsifications, appeared a little comical. Forty-nine years ago, the "mighty center" threatened the annexed areas and failed to acquire the feeling of being in charge of the situation, in spite of placing anti-Soviet labels upon them. Having acknowledged the existence of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and having witnessed how mightily residents of the Baltic observed the 50th anniversary of the pact, Moscow has run out of arguments. It was also comical to see how, having heaped abuses on the Baltic nationalists and the Moldavian meeting, Moscow Television "Vremya" Program immediately switched to reportage of similar events in the South African Republic, with different commentary, of course: The great friend of all nations who yearn for freedom was torn with compassion over the Africans enduring racist oppression. It appears the right to national self-determination is still being exported from the Soviet Union, while in internal policy it continues to be replaced by the fist and threats. This year is not the first time the CPSU Central Committee Commission has worked in Vilnius; it engaged in internationalism instruction and showed an interest in the capital's Spaliu Rayon and Salcininkai Rayon enterprises comprising mixed nationalities. For what reason? Strikes by other nationalities headed by enterprise administrators (this should be included in the Guiness Book of Records) in Estonia and Moldavia—provide a key to the answer. Would it not be better, if Moscow were to become concerned over the ever deteriorating situation for the Yaroslavl, Ural and Kuzbass population, while Vilnius were to become—Lithuania's concern?

The idea is not that of a journalist like me, with a bad reputation among the conservatives. This appeared in Saturday's [26 Aug] TIESA, by Retired Colonel, CPSU Member since 1945, V. Pavlenka, from Dnepropetrovsk, who declared, "every nation values its freedom and does not want to practice appeasement toward its oppressors."

We anxiously awaited the unplanned Monday Plenum of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Won't Moscow order the removal of A. Brazauskas and V. Beriozov? PRAVDA and the CPSU Central Committee accused the Lithuanian Communist Party leaders of being soft on separatists. PRAVDA 25 Aug article, "But What About Tomorrow?," seemed almost to point toward the direction of the true party members. V. Baltrunas, Secretary, Ideology Section, Lithuanian Communist Party, was cited. "According to his statement," said PRAVDA, "those at the center must express their opinion regarding events in union republics, including Lithuania, more accurately and more forcefully. One has in mind the goals of separate groups to scatter the union of brotherly republics among national lodgings and to isolate the republics. In other words, the work of local party organs will become easier." V. Baltrunas has not issued a denial anywhere of the words stated in PRAVDA. Thus, what should the Communists, who are seeking restructuring and the sovereignty of the Lithuanian Republic and the Communist Party, think of a new ideology secretary whom they have noticed only twice during the past six months. Once, at his first press conference following the famous Central Committee Lithuanian Communist Party 27th Plenum when he defended J. Gureckas and other Central Committee reactionaries, and now in PRAVDA, where he requests the assistance of Moscow's fist. The secretary is, at best, incompetent.

On Monday, however, the conservatives' hopes were dashed once more. No sanctions were announced even against J. Paleckis, who had been thus "honored" by PRAVDA. In spite of threats, the Central Committee Lithuanian Communist Party did not change its mind about convoking a Lithuanian Communist Congress in December, which is to decide whether the Lithuanian Communist Party will remain in the Union structure or leave it. The propoganda attack did not achieve the desired effect; this, however, doesn't mean anything. I would think its organizers were aiming not only at A. Brazauskas, V. Beriozovas, V. Vialjasas, A Riuitelis, and A. Gorbunovas, but against restructuring in general. The last argument of the imperialist supporters—military dictatorship, remains an actuality.

According to California University Professor, R. Tagapera, "the Soviet Union has no future as a unitarian state; however, for Estonia, even a temporary period of time would prove to be fatal since 10 more years of unlimited immigration would result in a catastrophy." It seems to me that this would be fatal not just for the Baltic countries alone. If the economic situation continues to deteriorate at a similar rate, in ten years even the greatest supporter of the empire will not rejoice over the fact that the Baltic republics have remained within the USSR structure. Thus it can be totally imaginable that in the face of deteriorating economy and restoration of sight to Russian eyes, that Moscow itself may offer independence—but will it not be too late? As it is in Poland, where for the first time in postwar history the government is non-communist. The biggest problem of Bolshevism, just as of every dictatorship lies in the fact that it totally rejects the probability of defeat. This cost Poland almost ten years, and the current government devotion is unable to save the state.

Does the Polish example not indicate that now is the time for Moscow to change over to equal partnership relations in its internal policy? Foreign policy experience indicates that is a more rewarding path than the propaganda hysteria byways. Perhaps it is no longer necessary to prove that without new hundreds of thousands of deportations to Siberia and terror, one cannot force a single Lithuanian to think that a social revolution had taken place in Lithuania in 1940 and that Lithuanians themselves renounced their independence at that time. The time when everything emanating from Moscow was sacred and infallible no longer exists.

Brazauskas 4 Sep News Conference Cited

PM2509124389 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 6 Sep 89 pp 1, 3

[ELTA report: "What Interests Journalists and the Public"]

[Excerpts] As already reported, Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, gave a news conference at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee in Vilnius 4 September. [Passage omitted]

[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent R. Motskus] You have recently talked over the telephone with Comrade M.S. Gorbachev. Could you pass on the essence of the conversation, if it is not confidential?

[Brazauskas] Of course, a telephone conversation is not a document. And during a telephone conversation thoughts can be expressed and are expressed which it is not obligatory to repeat at a news conference. But I can speak of certain things. M.S. Gorbachev illuminated the situation as a very serious one which elicited a response. This response was the CPSU Central Committee statement. It was said that hitherto decisions, official decisions, and other steps in our society have been perceived as the result of perestroyka, democracy, and glasnost. However, certain people lack a sense of proportion and forget in what time, in what epoch, and in which state we live... M.S. Gorbachev asked me to convey to the leaders of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka—and I did this—his displeasure at the extreme decisions adopted at the Sejm Council and at various kinds of resolutions and

declarations. And there was another sentence that disturbed me. M.S. Gorbachev said: "If processes continue developing like this in Lithuania, in such an extreme direction, I will not be your friend." This is very unpleasant. For M.S. Gorbachev really has always supported us. He understood right away the concept of our economic independence, which was accepted only with great difficulty and complexities in certain central departments. Now many people in the union agree with him, and this was understood at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, where a whole day was devoted to this question during the discussion of the Law on Economic Independence. Then many people throughout the Soviet Union, particularly members of the Supreme Soviet, realized what this means.

[A. Chizhauskas, deputy chief editor of the journal KULTUROS BARAI] Both journalists and the whole of Lithuania know that the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee has gone underground. Can you say what were the arguments for not carrying detailed information on the last Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum in the press?

[Brazauskas] No, it has not gone underground. Here is why the texts of the speeches have not been published. Before the start of the urgently convened plenum I raised the question that the texts of all the speeches ought to be published. But for the first time in our history opinions were divided. A vote had to be taken. The majority advocated not publishing the speeches. I do not think there is any crime here. Other organizations very often do not provide their speeches. Finally, there can be certain secrets in a party organization.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent V. Burbulis] Esteemed Secretary, the CPSU Central Committee statement made use several times of the concept of "separatist sentiments" in the Baltic region and in our republic. Why has Moscow taken fright so, and are there grounds for speaking of such sentiments in our republic?

[Brazauskas] Documents of the Supreme Soviet and our Central Committee as a party political unit do not make use of this concept, although the documents of certain organizations and movements speak of this. Of course, the concept of separatism elicits a response, and precisely this response is felt in the CPSU Central Committee statement. [passage omitted]

[YONAVOS BALSAS editor Yu. Lyanchyauskas] Esteemed Secretary, there is currently a debate within the Lithuanian Communist Party. Would it not be fuller if the draft Statutes and Program of the Lithuanian Communist Party were published?

[Brazauskas] We thought a long time about what to do for the best. We reached the conclusion that certain information was necessary to prepare such historic documents. Now we already know the opinion of many Communists and party organizations, and we make use of it. Of course, we have to prepare the documents with great responsibility, weighing and assessing many times the opinion of the majority. A debate on the actual contents of the documents is still to come.

[TIESA Editor M. Barisas] Many people are grateful to the soldiers who have helped to bring the remains of relatives to Lithuania out of exile. We know of your efforts to ensure that young men from our republic do their military service closer to home. Can it be claimed that relations between the Army and society are improving?

[Brazauskas] This is one of our most urgent problems. Unfortunately, these relations are not yet improving. The slogans on the cathedral bell tower do not do credit to us all. There are other very unpleasant facts too. Thus, during the night of 17-18 June the memorial panels to servicemen-liberators at Kudirkos-Naumestis were daubed with red paint, and at approximately 0700 on 23 August unknown persons painted over the Victory Monument in Klaypeda with red paint. Criminal proceedings have been instituted in this regard. Rallies directed against the Army were held in a number of cities and rayons in the republic during the summer, and a soldier's uniform was burned. The CPSU Central Committee statement views analogous incidents as acts of vandalism.

Such actions elicit a very unpleasant response, soldiers are indignant, and officers of military units stationed in the republic deliver just rebukes.

[A written question] What can you say about the threat of political strikes in Vilnius and in other places in the republic? How do you regard the fact that enterprise directors and party committee secretaries appear to intend to lead them?

[Brazauskas] There are no grounds for strikes proceeding from the political situation in Lithuania. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic government, and the "Sajudis" leadership are obliged to do everything to see that they do not happen. It is necessary to explain to people the perniciousness of such actions. For this is an extreme means of resolving political questions. It will only create tremendous difficulties both for the strike organizers and for those will take part in them. And life is difficult enough already...

[TASS correspondent K. Ustsila] What is your position on questions of party perestroyka?

[Brazauskas] It is difficult to explain my position in a few words.

The opinion of the majority will be decisive. At meetings of party organizations and plenums or sessions of party committees many Communists advocate the need to resolve the question of the Lithuanian Communist Party's status in the broad sense of the word and say that their program must be confirmed. True, the most complex question—relations with the CPSU—remains open. Everything is to be ascertained in the debate. And the congress will adopt the final decision. [passage omitted]

[A written question] How do you assess the activity of Yustas Paletskis in general and in Gotland in particular? Was Comrade Paletskis empowered by you or by other Central Committee secretaries?

[Brazauskas] Yustas Paletskis was not empowered by the Central Committee to sign the document. For no one had expected such a document, brief yet very substantive, to be adopted and signed by different groups—of Lithuanians abroad, our public movements, and other organizations. This elicited a corresponding response. Some members of the Central Committee and its Bureau have spoken on this question.

I value Paletskis very highly as a worker. He is a highly educated man, a journalist. His work sector—the Ideological Department—is very difficult, particularly nowadays. Yustas Paletskis has explained in the press and on television how he understands independence. This concept is changing all the time and is a very delicate and complex thing. A good 6 months ago we declared that a Lithuania without sovereignty is a Lithuania without a future. Many people still do not understand this very bold party slogan. And Yu. Paletskis, being, in addition, a professional diplomat, understands independence the way it can be understood today in our situation.

[K. Zhilenas, chief editor of the journal YAUNIMO GRYATOS] The purpose of the Soviet Army is to defend us against external enemies. But at a rally yesterday Officer Shurupov from Vilnius directly used the Army as a means of intimidation: We will not allow it, we are ready. Perhaps we should ask USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov on behalf of the republic government: Who has the right to issue such threats, and who can give the order when to introduce tanks? And a second question. Does it not seem to you that the CPSU Central Committee, in wishing to strike at the Baltic republics, has hit itself with the other end of the stick? It has shown once again that you must not believe what is promised in the long term. It is a question of the constitutional right to leave or remain within the USSR...

[Brazauskas] It would be interesting to see what would happen in our area if what is being said at rallies were to be fulfilled. Of course, Shurupov is not empowered to decide when the Army must be used. But you can understand that this force exists and that it is mobile.

Rally sentiments in general must not be taken as a basis. In this connection I wish to return once more to the fact that we are obliged to heed the voice of the majority. And you yourself answered the question about the CPSU Central Committee. I would like only to add that this Central Committee statement is not such a simple matter. [passage omitted]

Estonian Labor Collectives Council Adopts Appeal

PM2509151389 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Sep 89 p 3

["Appeal to the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet" adopted at a session of the enlarged council of representatives of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) United Council of Labor Collectives 1 September 1989]

[Text] Our view of the events taking place in the republic largely coincides with the assessments given in the CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics. Unfortunately, negative processes in the Baltic region have reached a critical state. The solution to the crisis will need great efforts from all social forces which value the ideas of socialism, perestroyka, calm, and a secure life for the peoples. In this sense the CPSU Central Committee Statement to a certain extent comes too late. It must be realized that no local measures can change the direction of the processes taking place in the republic, which are acquiring an irreversible character. An integrated statewide policy is needed now, one based on a well considered system of legislative acts providing real guarantees for the protection of our state and of each Soviet citizen. In this connection, the Estonian SSR United Council of Labor Collectives considers it necessary:

1. To urgently elaborate and adopt at the 2d Congress of USSR People's Deputies a USSR law on the Soviet socialist federation which clearly enshrines the principles of the building and functioning of the USSR as a single state and to define the limits of the powers, rights, and reciprocal obligations of the USSR and the union republics. To develop a mechanism for the affiliation of states to the USSR and a procedure for seceding from the USSR.

2. To adopt at the 2d Congress of People's Deputies amendments to the USSR Constitution precluding contradictions and articles susceptible of dual interpretation. The wording which defines the sovereignty of republics, the right of nations to self-determination, and the rights and duties of USSR citizens must be particularly clear.

A procedure for protecting the USSR Constitution and a corresponding mechanism making it possible to suspend or rescind legislative acts contrary to the basic law of the USSR must be established.

Prior to the formation of a USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee the USSR Supreme Soviet is to be asked to examine the question of the observance of union legislation in the Estonian SSR and adopt specific decisions.

To constitutionally enshrine the status of national groups living outside their own territories and to elaborate a mechanism for their protection. To enable areas densely populated by groups of a different nationality to set up their own autonomous administrative, national-territorial formations with the right to self-determination. Refugee status should be established in the event of emergencies (this means the creation of reliable legal guarantees of compensation to refugees for

material and moral harm from the state budget of those republics where discrimination has occurred and people have had to be relocated).

It is necessary to establish in law the degree of responsibility borne by leaders of union republics where there have been violations of constitutional norms and international agreements in the human rights sphere at local level.

3. To establish a single procedure for discussing and adopting statewide legislative acts which ensures that republic laws are coordinated with the basic principles of federal legislation.

In addition, we ask the CPSU Central Committee to consider the possibility of a split in the Estonian Communist Party on national grounds and examine the question of forming a CPSU Central Committee Bureau on the Baltic Republics endowed with specific functions which do not violate the sovereignty of the union republics.

We hope that the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum will be a turning point in the improvement of interethnic relations.

Latvian KGB Bars Two U.S. Citizens

LD2209124889 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Riga September 22 TASS—Two U.S. citizens of Latvian descent are barred from entering the Soviet Union for five years, the Latvian State Security Committee (KGB) has announced. The decision was taken because Juris Kaza and Peteris Elferts violated Soviet laws regulating the stay of foreigners in the USSR.

Janis Trubins, a deputy chairman of the Latvian KGB, told TASS that Kaza, in Latvia as a tourist, sneaked into a helicopter on August 23, used by a camera team of Latvian television, to fly over a wooded area, and filmed territory closed to foreigners.

Nearly at the same time, Elferts, who came to Riga on invitation, made frequent trips to regions closed to foreigners, Trubins said. In one of the regions he filmed a guarded military facility. The U.S. citizen was warned that staying in the area without appropriate authorisation was prohibited. However he ignored all warnings. Pointedly violating the laws of the host country, mandatory for all foreigners, Elferts refused to register himself at the visa and registration agency of the Latvian Interior Ministry, despite the notification on his entry visa to the USSR.

"The democratisation of Soviet society and development of glasnost make contacts between representatives of various countries more accessible. However the laws regulating the stay and conduct of foreigners should be strictly observed, which is a general rule recognised throughout the world." the KGB deputy chief said.

Nagorno-Karabakh Military Officials on Situation

LD2509132889 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Stepanakert September 25 TASS—The troops of the Interior Ministry's elite Dzerzhinskiy Rifle Division—dispatched to Nagorno-Karabakh from Fergana, Uzbekistan, and Sukhimi, Abkhaziya, the scenes of recent ethnic disturbances—have found themselves performing the unusual role of unloading food and medicines from Army helicopters.

The Interior Ministry troops and other units deployed in the special administration region have been invited to handle vital cargo airlifted to the regional centre.

A total of 500 tonnes of cargo have been brought here since early September.

The head of the political unit of the special region's commandant's office, Colonel V. Skorobogatov told TASS:

"The troops are working under extreme strain. They protect water reservoirs and oil storages, secure the delivery of food and mail, unload helicopters and escort convoys of trucks carrying foodstuffs to Azerbaijani and Armenian settlements."

"Servicemen herded about 50,000 heads of sheep to wintering sites and harvested more than 50 hectares of grapes, vegetables and fruits," he added.

"We are worried about the growing aggressiveness towards servicemen on the part of irresponsible individuals," said Major-General V. Safonov, commandant of the special region.

"Provocateurs and scandal-mongers should understand that troops are not only seeking to prevent bloodshed. They are also providing the bare essentials to the population.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains extremely tense. The Special Administration Committee for the Autonomous Region and the commandant's office are doing their utmost to defuse tension," he pointed out.

Rumors of Control Over NKAO Economy Denied

PM2509122989 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 5 Sep 89 p 1

[Interview with A.N. Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Council of Ministers, by AZERINFORM correspondent E. Askerova: "Rumors Are Unfounded"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] The following announcement was made at last Saturday's unsanctioned meeting held on behalf of the Azerbaijan People's Front—an unregistered informal organization—in Baku: On 22 May 1989 the Azerbaijan SSR ratified the USSR Council of Ministers resolution

of 6 May this year regarding the transfer to Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] jurisdiction of all socioeconomic questions related to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

I am holding USSR Council of Ministers resolution No 384 dated 6 May 1989 "On the Economic Management of the Azerbaijan SSR's NKAO During the Operation of the Special Form of Administration." After studying it attentively, I saw that the extremely free interpretation of the document heard on the square bore no relation to it.

What prompted the adoption of this document?

AZERINFORM's correspondent put this question to A.N. Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers. This is what he said:

[Mutalibov] The document arose quite naturally. Following the appearance of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 12 January 1989 on the introduction of a special form of administration in the Azerbaijan SSR's NKAO—an enforced temporary measure—it was important to determine the forms of economic management in the autonomous oblast under these conditions.

The USSR Council of Ministers formed a government commission shortly after the publication of the decree to study the fundamental basis of the system of economic management in the NKAO in conditions of the special form of administration. We received the appropriate instructions from the USSR Council of Ministers. We began to consider a version of this system. The main principle to which we adhered was that the NKAO is an inalienable part of Azerbaijan and so all forms of administration there must be implemented in this context. Our proposals were sent to the government commission.

During detailed discussion, fundamental provisions were elaborated and these were reflected in the resolution that was adopted. I believe the main point to be the fact that we preserved our leading positions in the economic management of the NKAO, granting the oblast's enterprises and organizations the same degree of autonomy as any enterprise or organization in the country in the mainstream of economic reform today.

Given the impossibility of citing the resolution in full I will cite just an excerpt from it:

"...The USSR State Planning Committee must stipulate the most important indicators for the NKAO's economic and social development in a separate paragraph in the draft Plan for the Social and Economic Development of the USSR **within the plan for the Azerbaijan SSR** (comparable to the procedure established for Moscow Oblast) and, following its ratification, convey the appropriate indicators to the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and the NKAO Special Administration Committee;

"In the draft USSR State Budget the Ministry of Finance must stipulate the corresponding indicators for the NKAO Budget in a separate paragraph **within the Azerbaijan SSR State Budget**."

Similar addenda also accompany all the other points of the resolution, which stipulates in detail all aspects of the economic activity of the NKAO in conditions of the special form of administration. Moreover, subordination to the Azerbaijan SSR is even reflected in the list of production associations set up in the NKAO appended to the resolution.

Our resolution was also adopted on the basis of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution and fully accords with the spirit and letter of the union resolution.

I must say that since it came to power the NKAO Special Administration Committee has attempted to resubordinate various NKAO enterprises to union bodies, removing them from the republic's jurisdiction. However, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the Azerbaijan Government have opposed this. Moreover, union bodies have always reacted understandingly to our objections.

Thus, talk of a transfer to RSFSR jurisdiction of the resolution of all socioeconomic questions relating to the NKAO is totally groundless.

I would also like to particularly stress here that the rumors circulated about the allegedly impending introduction of the presidential form of administration in the NKAO, mentioned at the 2 September rally, are unfounded.

Shevardnadze Addresses Georgian Leaders 6 Sep

PM2509160389 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 8 Sep 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] A session of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was held 6 September 1989; E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, took part in its work.

A report by G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, in which he gave a detailed analysis of the state of affairs in the republic was heard. He spoke in detail of the serious problems in economic development, the stabilization of the political situation in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], and the need to consolidate all public forces on the platform of perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost. It was stressed that all party-organizational and political-education work is developing within the party organization on the basis of fundamentally new forms and methods that accord with the spirit of the time and the spirit of renewal in our life. [passage omitted].

E.A. Shevardnadze delivered a speech at the session. He conveyed the opinion of M.S. Gorbachev and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo regarding the fact that the republic's new leadership has, in a complex, crisis situation, succeeded in establishing broad, constructive dialogue with the public, including representatives of various public movements, halting the negative trends that existed, and turning them in the direction of consolidating the republic's healthy forces, and laying the foundations for the restoration of trust between the institutions of power and various strata of the population. The republic party organization has presented them with a realistic program of action capable of creating the prerequisites for strengthening sovereignty in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres.

Naturally, this is only the beginning of a road which passes through a great many difficulties. Success can only be achieved along this road by continuing to unite all the most active, progressively oriented forces around the Georgian Communist Party and preserving a high degree of assertiveness, initiative, and an innovative, original approach to the problems that arise.

In an atmosphere of rapidly accelerating politicization of society, it is extremely important to summarize, consolidate, and deepen the first gains of broad social and national dialogue and gather together the accumulated experience, whose significance is not confined to within the bounds of the republic. It is extremely valuable that today the republic's leaders are more than making up for the lack of communication with the people, including difficult partners, that arose in the Georgian SSR at the very beginning of perestroyka.

Obviously it is relations of partnership that we should characterize the living, creative links between the republic's leaders and the public that are now developing in the course of the quest for the optimum ways out of the crisis.

The dialogue should be widened—it should include in its orbit a great many difficult questions that are tormenting society's thoughts. People do not know the whole truth about the state of affairs in the economy and the financial and monetary system, which are now destabilized not only by their inherent flaws and the natural disasters of recent months, but also by political upheavals. The truth about the economic crisis is not an end in itself. The objective is to give people a clear understanding that certain excessively vigorous actions, even if they express a justified dissatisfaction, can objectively exacerbate an already difficult situation, since in present conditions they could trigger irreversible destructive processes.

The republic's economic independence is a sphere for reason, not emotion. Its economic revival must be prepared through the intensive labor of many generations, labor based on a clear sense of priorities. In many spheres—education, participation in the all-union and worldwide scientific, cultural, and economic exchange, cadre training, the production of competitive output, the provision of high quality services. Without all this, the idea of economic autonomy as a necessary precondition for state political sovereignty is suicidal. Suicidal for the national idea itself, which cannot be realized solely through the striving for autonomy. Its foundations are a strong modern economy, a developed political culture, and a high ethical sense of responsibility to one's own people—and not only one's own.

Perestroyka bred democratization, and democratization called into being unprecedented sociopolitical activeness on the part of the masses. On the threshold of the coming elections in party organizations and to the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics it is extremely important correctly to define and clearly to represent to the public the republic party organization's election program. It should be solid and well thought-out and substantiated, expressing the people's aspirations and meeting them. But at the same time, in talking with the people in full awareness of our responsibility to them, we must not exploit striking but frivolous ideas calculated to make cheap, quick capital.

Take ecology—our common grief and trouble. The ecologically unsound nature of several major energy and transport projects has forced us to suspend their implementation. I do not dispute that some of them failed to take into account the demands of nature conservation. But what have we received in exchange? Alternative solutions are always needed in such situations. At the same time it is necessary to explain to people that without the development of the power industry and modern transport arteries, there will be no development—national or interethnic. Leaving aside the fact that a developed industrial infrastructure is the basis of a developed, modern standard of life and existence for the people, such things as severe cold winters and nights without heat and light exist in reality, and not even the most ardent rhetoric can do away with them. The planners and scientists have their say here. They have to do everything they can to ensure that ecology and national economic facilities become compatible concepts.

It is necessary to give the people an economic forecast, to explain how things could be on our territory by the end of the 5-year plan or by the year 2000, if we construct nothing. But we must also give the people and our descendants an ecological forecast.

By introducing ecologically clean technologies, we will both preserve our nature and develop the economy.

All this is also a very important topic for public dialogue.

But all the same, I would say that the main theme is interethnic peace and concord. This is the most difficult, most complex question, I would call it the key question, for the republic party organization.

According to my observations, much seems to look peaceful on the outside, but on the inside everything is in

turmoil, and the situation remains explosive. The disease has been neglected, its treatment requires a new diagnosis and new methods and means. It is extremely important correctly to interpret the nature of the phenomenon. To understand that the main asset of every people, every nation, is their unique values and identity, that no people can tolerate the loss of those things.

The ideas of self-determination and political and economic sovereignty put forward by the leadership of the party and country are directly in keeping with this phenomenon. They regard the desire of every people for the fullest possible self-expression—not only in culture and the economy, but also in politics—as something entirely normal.

But what forms should this self-expression take, forms that are acceptable to its integrity and well-being? What stages must be passed through? What internal laws characterize it? There are many such questions, and not all of them have been answered. The party platform on the nationalities question published on the threshold of the Central Committee plenum, explains much and defines the main avenues in realizing the enormous potential inherent in the union federation. In the course of nationwide discussion this document is being elaborated, supplemented, and enriched. And of course, prior to the CPSU Central Committee plenum the Politburo is listening sensitively to the opinion of every republic, every people, every citizen.

Here the voice of a republic that is winning space, step by step, for interethnic peace could be very authoritative. Along this path even the smallest elements of chauvinism and nationalism are intolerable, wherever they may originate.

Quite good experience in building healthy interethnic relations has been accumulated in the republic since way back. There was experience in resolving specific problems in this sphere. Then much was neglected and scattered. Today, in the new conditions, the Georgian party organization can offer promising forms of a model of healthy interethnic relations.

It is necessary to take from the past all that is best, the methods that have won a good reputation, and to adapt them creatively to present-day conditions. For instance—experience in the study, shaping, and consideration of public opinion. It is gratifying that the Center for the Study of Public Opinion set up some time ago at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee is still operating, and that people in the republic often turn to this institute. But now, in conditions of glasnost, its sphere of activity should be widened. First and foremost in the direction of the study of movements and the content of information flows and their influence on public awareness.

All this should be placed on a serious, systematic footing. Public opinion must not be shaped by casual, poorly balanced, ill-qualified articles. Supreme professionalism, profound knowledge of the matter, and an ability to forecast processes are what are needed here. Pluralism and freedom to express opinions, along with competence, presuppose responsible and disciplined thinking rather than anarchy: "I write what I want, just print what I write."

In the past there was a lot of talk about the fact that the authorities monopolized the press, television, and radio. We must not succumb to the other extreme: The mass media must not submit to group interests and suppress any dissent, any different opinion that is not to someone's liking.

A word about young people. We must continue and expand our serious discussion with them, but we must lead this discussion without yielding the initiative to others. The ideas put forward by the republic's leaders and their first practical steps cannot fail to attract our young people. If you talk to students using this kind of language, they will understand and support you.

You must seriously get down to establishing order and strengthening discipline. Demand respect for the laws and the constitution. As long as they exist and new laws and a new constitution have not been elaborated, they must be respected. Without respect for the laws there can be no rule-of-law state. That is, by the way, the chief characteristic in the life of any civilized people.

Cadre matters are a most pressing problem. Renewal is under way, and new people with a good grasp of the new conditions who take the specific nature of the complex circumstances into account are appearing. All this begins from above, with the Central Committee and the oblast party committees. That is very good. But I think that you must now resolutely strive to improve cadre work at all other levels—municipal, rayon, and primary.

Without a true leader there is no policy. A great deal now depends on who is in charge of the rayon or municipal organization. That is the most pressing task facing the elections.

We must be bolder in bringing forward young people—we have very many intelligent talented young people. We also have a considerable number of proven, unsullied, honest, decent people, who have worked in the recent past. Their prestige opens the way to them under new conditions.

To conclude my speech I would once again like to return to the topic of dialogue with the people and stress precisely that—dialogue with the people. Talk and act independently without waiting to be prompted by the center. Today, when sociopolitical life is multipolar, everything is decided by enterprise, innovativeness, and knowledge of the situation predetermined by an understanding of the indivisibility of private, individual, and general people's fate.

At all stages of its history the Georgian republic party organization has actively made its contribution to the development of society and the country. It always had its

own conceptual view of the state of affairs, its own original innovative approach to it. I am convinced that even today it can have its weighty say which will be heard and supported not only within the republic.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau adopted a resolution on the question under discussion in which it elaborated concrete measures to further improve and stabilize the sociopolitical and socioeconomic situation in the republic.

Georgian Constitution Amendments Proposed

LD2009181189 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Tbilisi September 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Eduard Gasparov:

Amendments and supplements to the Constitution of Soviet Georgia are aimed at ensuring that the forthcoming elections to all government bodies in the republic are held on a truly democratic basis.

The draft law was published by republican and district newspapers. Its purpose is to widen sovereignty of this federal Soviet Trans-Caucasian republic, expand the rights of its citizens, upgrade the electoral system and the structure and principles of the activity of soviets of people's deputies at every level.

People's deputies will only be elected in constituencies on the basis of universal suffrage, by equal and direct voting with secret ballot.

Election of deputies from public organisations is not envisaged. (As is known, a third of deputies to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies was elected from public organisations).

The range of those whose posts bar them from being elected has been widened. They include not only members of the republican government, but also their deputies.

The supreme body of state authority in the republic will be the Supreme Soviet consisting of 350 deputies, not 440 as at present. The powers of the Supreme Soviet will include consideration of questions connected with republican borders, with the operation of federal laws and by-laws on the republic's territory, and the shaping of main directions of the republic's domestic and foreign policy.

The draft law has been submitted for public discussion. The press will also provide coverage for alternative proposals on planned amendments made by public organisations and movements.

Georgian Panels Debate Draft Election Laws

PM2009161389 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 31 Aug 89 p 1

[GEORGIAN NEWS AGENCY report: "At Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Excerpts] A joint sitting of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission on the Preparation of the Georgian SSR Draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the Georgian SSR Constitution (Basic Law), Georgian SSR Draft Law on the Election of Georgian SSR People's Deputies, and Georgian SSR Draft Law on the Election of People's Deputies to Georgian SSR Local Soviets, and the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Legislative Proposals was held 29 August under the chairmanship of Givi Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

The drafts of all three Georgian SSR laws were submitted to the participants in the sitting for discussion. [passage omitted]

It was noted that the amendments and additions proposed for prompt inclusion in the present Georgian SSR Constitution are intended to ensure that the forthcoming elections to the republic's new supreme and local-level organs of state authority are conducted on a truly democratic basis. Like the amendments and new features included in the Georgian SSR draft laws on the election of Georgian SSR people's deputies and the election of people's deputies to the republic's local soviets, they aim to broaden the sovereignty of the Georgian SSR and the real constitutional rights of its citizens and to improve the electoral system and the structure and principles of soviet activity at all levels. In particular, it is proposed to supplement the range of issues within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet with such topics as decisions on the Georgian SSR state border, decisions on questions connected with exercising the right of free exit [svobodnyy vykhod] from the USSR, and decisions on the action of USSR laws and subordinate legislation on the territory of the Georgian SSR. Decisions on questions connected with introducing a special regime of citizens' conduct throughout the territory of the republic or in individual localities and a whole host of other powers are also being placed within the competence of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [passage omitted]

The sitting also discussed the fact that there are still some questions in the drafts of the new laws that need to be studied further and analyzed and considered in depth and from every angle. Exchanging opinions on each of these questions, the speakers offered constructive proposals. They stressed the importance of creating the kind of draft laws which will be fully consonant with the spirit of the times and the interests of the republic and its population. In this connection the commission instructed the working groups to review the drafts once more and submit the final versions of all three draft laws

as soon as possible—by the end of this week—so that they can be presented for nationwide discussion.

Rukh Members Ridiculed at 16 Sep Kiev Rally

PM2009093589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[IZVESTIYA own correspondent Sergey Tsikora report under the general heading "Direct Line": "Call for Unity"]

[Text] Kiev—A rally attended by thousands of people took place 16 September in the republic stadium in Kiev. It was held under the slogan "The success of perestroyka lies in international unity and solidarity." Party organizations and labor collectives in the Ukrainian capital initiated it.

Those who spoke at the meeting stressed that in the present complex situation the most important way of preventing the disintegration of Soviet society is unity and the joint solution of all problems. USSR People's Deputies A. Korniyenko, B. Oleynik, and Yu. Yelchenko and other speakers at the meeting made a call to prevent the lack of confidence from spreading.

The meeting's participants adopted an appeal to the Communists and working people of all union republics to strengthen friendship and accord among the peoples of all nationalities living in the USSR.

Unfortunately, even here mistakes were not avoided. The speakers who represented the recently created "Rukh," the people's movement of the Ukraine for perestroyka, were hissed by those assembled, and the "Rukh" members in turn whistled at those who criticized their organization.

Kirghiz Supreme Soviet Session Begins

LD2209204689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] The extraordinary session of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet has started.

On the 1st day, the report of the Council of Ministers regarding measures to restructure its own work and the activities of the executive committees of local soviets, ministries and departments, the draft law of the Kirghiz SSR regarding amendments and addenda to the constitution and the draft laws regarding elections of people's deputies of the Kirghiz SSR and regarding elections to local soviets were discussed.

The session will continue its work on 23 September.

Slow Pace of Restructuring in Kirghizia Hit

PM2409152389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[KIRTAG-TASS report under the general heading: "Republic Sessions"]

[Text] Frunze, 22 Sep—The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet extraordinary session began work today. On the first day it discussed the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers' report on the measures being taken to restructure its own work and the activity of local soviet executive committees, ministries, and departments in the republic in the solution of economic and social problems and the fuller satisfaction of the population's needs, Kirghiz SSR draft laws on amendments and additions to the republic's Constitution (Basic Law), and Kirghiz SSR draft laws on the election of Kirghiz SSR people's deputies and the election of Kirghiz local soviet deputies.

The report and deputies' speeches noted that the measures being taken by the republic's government to restructure its work are clearly inadequate, there has been no fundamental improvement in the leadership of the national economy or in the implementation of many principles of the economic reform, and ministries and departments are improving their activity too slowly.

The session outlined a range of measures to eliminate shortcomings in the work of the republic's Council of Ministers and the stepping up of local soviets' activity.

The session continues work on 23 September.

Tajikistan Party, Komsomol Hold Plenum

LD2509172389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Acute social problems in the critical period of development of Soviet society canot be resolved without taking into account the interests of all strata of the population, particularly the young. This idea was to be heard repeatedly at a joint plenum in Dushanbe today of the party Central Comittee and the Central Committee of the Tajikistan Komsomol, which discussed the tasks of party and Komsomol organizations in the republic to step up the role of young people in perestroyka and the democratization of public life.

Speakers spoke with concern of the poor standard of living and of how one young person in 10 is not employed in public sector production. More than 130,000 do not work anywhere and are not studying. It was stressed that the government and the local soviets of the republic must adopt radical measures to create additional jobs, first and foremost in these industries producing consumer goods and foodstuffs.

Investigation Into Military Depot Fire Launched

LD2309223689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2130 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] The inhabitants of the town of Yurga in Kemerovo Oblast experienced several alarming hours. A large fire broke out at one of the ammunition dumps on a military range a few kilometres from the town. Artillery rounds caught by the flames began to explode and scattered over the whole district; several dozen fell in residential areas in the town. The majority of rounds did not explode. Immediately after the outbreak of fire at the dump, subunits of the civil defense and the militia were roused on combat alert. The evacuation of the population from the danger zone was organized by central office, led by (Trigubov,) first secretary of the party town committee, and Teplikov, chairman of the town executive committee.

In a short time almost 20,000 inhabitants of the town and nearby villages were evacuated to a safe place. Now the danger is completely passed. As is now known there are no casualties among the inhabitants of Yurga. A residential building has been partly destroyed, and rounds hit two other buildings. Windows shattered in some residential buildings, shops, and schools. Some soldiers have been hospitalized with wounds and burns. A special commission has now been set up in the town to investigate the reasons for the fire, but one reason is already known: negligence, carelessness, and flagrant violations of safety devices.

One Said Killed in Accident

LD2609125389 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Summary] About 20,000 people were evacuated from Yurga, Siberia, after shells fell on the city after an explosion at a local military depot. "The shells destroyed a private house, damaged the roof of a five-story building and demolished a corner of a child-care center.

"One serviceman perished, and several peple from the local civil defense squads were injured. There were no civilian casualties."

People's Front Established in Yaroslavl

LD2509172589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] The constituting conference of the People's Front of the oblast has been held in Yaroslavl. The wave of public activity caused by perestroyka has brought together people from the most diverse strata of the population with the most diverse views and convictions, said Markoven, a teacher and one of the leaders of the movement, in an interview. It is our aim to help to get the country out of crisis, and this can only be done together, in a united front. The Yaroslavl Movement for Promoting Perestroyka already has experience in dealing with specific tasks. For example, voters' clubs and worker's clubs have appeared at its initiative and they have helped to found charity and memorial societies and the ecological movement Green Branch [Zelenyy Vetv]. The Front took an active part in the elections of USSR People's Deputies. We are learning to listen to each other and to respect our opponents' view, and this testifies to a growing political culture of dialogue, noted Kalin, head of the ideological department of the Oblast Party Committee, in a conversation with journalists.

Crimea, Orel Elect New Obkom Secretaries

LD2509174389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1607 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Simferopol, 25 Sep (TASS)—A plenum of the Crimean obkom of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has taken place. N.V. Bagrov, who worked as deputy chief of the department of party building and cadre building of the CPSU Central Committee, has been elected first secretary of the Crimean Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. He replaced in this post A.N. Girenko, elected secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Orel, 25 Sep (TASS)—Today there was a plenum of the Orel party obkom. N. A. Volodin, who worked as secretary of the CPSU Oblast Committee, was elected first secretary of the Orel party obkom. He replaced in this post Ye S. Stroyev, elected CPSU Central Committee secretary.

Weightlifter's Wife Comments on Defection

LD2209130889 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—None of the relatives or friends of Soviet weightlifter Hafiz Suleimanov, who asked for political asylum in the Turkish Embassy in Athens on Tuesday, had an inkling about his intention to defect, Suleimanov's wife told the newspaper SOVETSKY SPORT, published today.

Suleimanov defected together with masseur Vitaliy Stabrov.

Nonna Suleimanov does not believe that her husband could "take such a step and betray his homeland on his own will."

She expressed conviction that Hafiz had been provoked by Stabrov, adding that she has "all grounds to suspect that Stabrov planned the defection, as Stabrov and his wife had long had plans to leave for the United States."

"Hafiz had never intended to leave anywhere," Suleimanov's wife said. "He had no complaints or problems. We married two years ago and have since lived in perfect harmony.

"My husband was very kind to me. We lived in Moscow with my parents, but Hafiz was promised a flat of his own in the near future."

Nonna said that her husband's victory at the world championships in Athens would have accelerated the solution of this problem.

She said that Hafiz has many brothers and sisters in Sumgait, Azerbaijan, whom he is fond of.

"Hafiz was born into a large family and was brought up on the example of his parents who worked all their lives. Now their family is in mourning, and Hafiz's father has left for Moscow."

Icebreaker 'Lenin' on Last Voyage

LD2609111189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] It has been decided to withdraw the first Soviet atomic ice-breaker Lenin from active service. The vessel is already 3 decades old. Its present voyage will be the last for the atomic-powered vessel. Various possibilities for the future of the renowned boat are being examined.

Economic

Fuel Delivery Problems Disrupt Industrial Sector

Lack of Railcars Noted

18290291 Moscow GUDOK in Russian 19 Sep 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Tractor in the Field Would Not Start" under the rubric "Fact and Commentary"]

[Text] Kilometer-long lines at gas stations and machinery standing idle in the field have become a sign of our times, a subject for TV reports and sharply worded articles in the newspapers. A particularly unfavorable situation has developed in Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays, in Rostov, Voronezh, and other oblasts.

Why have refinery products become yet another addition to the list of products in short supply at the very peak of harvesting? This question became the subject of a discussion at the USSR Committee for People's Control.

It was noted that disruptions in the supply of motor fuel to the agroindustrial complex have become consistent in recent years. This is associated primarily with serious shortcomings in the planning and distribution of refinery products, as well as the poor effort of many ministries and departments to save motor fuels and lubricants. The resources of motor gasoline and diesel fuel for the current year were set by the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] at a level higher than that envisaged by the state order due to the projected above-plan output. Export deliveries of motor gasoline and diesel fuel were increased by more than 11 percent while the planned increment in their output amounted to only 2 percent in the current year.

The USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] considerably reduced the residual stocks of fuel held at tank storage facilities, which has adversely affected the flexibility of supplying it to consumers.

The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Goskomnefteprodukt [State Committee for Oil and Refinery Products] is primarily to blame for the unsatisfactory supply of fuel and lubricants to the agroindustrial complex; its associations display local favoritism and fail to deliver fuel. In the first half of this year, the plan for interrepublic deliveries of gasoline was 91.1 percent fulfilled; meanwhile, deliveries to RSFSR enterprises were 101.2 percent fulfilled.

The Ministry of Railways consistently fails to ensure the delivery of tank cars to to be filled with fuel. Thus, in May through July, 12,800 tank cars were not provided to be filled with gasoline and diesel fuel; deliveries of light refinery products to the consumers fell short by 650,000 tons.

Railroads have not put an end to cases of major violations of procedures for writing up transportation documents in order to dispatch empty tank cars to the loading points. Three thousand such tank cars entered the Kuybyshev Railroad alone in May and June. Each of these tank cars spent 15 days on the average waiting for a decision to be made on preparing it for the fill-up.

In the last 3 months, the Kuybyshev Railroad failed to furnish 1,500 tank cars to be filled with gasoline, diesel fuel, and oils to the associations Kuybyshevnefteprodukt and Bashkirnefteprodukt. The railroad did not take advantage of the opportunities it had while having available a pool of empty tank cars which exceeded the norm by a factor of 1.5.

Over the first half of the year, the Volga Railroad failed to load more than 700,000 tons of refinery products compared to the transportation plan, including about 400,000 tons due to the failure to provide tank cars. Due to this, R412,000 were paid to cargo shippers in fines. Due to the lack of control on the part of the management of the railroad, the technology of handling vessels is not observed at a number of railway stations, and their preparation for transporting refinery products is not ensured. At the same time, two washing and steam-cleaning stations were shut down for 170 days. The turnaround of tank cars is slowed by 13 hours mainly due to these reasons.

The USSR KNK [Committee of People's Control] reprimanded Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Goskomnefteprodukt N. Chinaryan for violations of state discipline, display of local favoritism, and failure to put an end to cases of mismanagement at the enterprises reporting to him, and demanded that he take appropriate measures to rectify the shortcomings noted. The Chiefs of the Volga Railroad, V. Chebotarev, and of the Kuybyshev Railroad, E. Poddavashkin, were reprimanded.

The KNK took under advisement the statements by Deputy Minister of the Chemical and Petroleum

Refining Industry V. Popov and USSR Deputy Minister of Railways G. Fadeyev to the effect that the ministries will take urgent measures to manufacture refinery products and deliver them to the national economy in a timely manner.

Shortcomings in the planning and supply of fuel and lubricants to the enterprises and organizations of the agroindustrial complex were brought to the attention of Deputy Chairman of the USSR Gosplan A. Troitskiy and the Chief of the Department of Balances and Trade in Refinery Products of the USSR Gossnab, A. Rudkovskiy.

The RSFSR Goskomnefteprodukt, the USSR Ministry of Railroads, and the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry were called upon to report to the USSR Committee of People's Control on the measures taken based on the results of operations in the first half of 1990.

Specific measures were planned by the Ministry of Railways to rectify the shortcomings in the transportation of refinery products. They involve the use of tank cars and the reinforcement of operational discipline.

Fuel Shortage Causes Alarm

18220207 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 19 Sep 89 pp 1,2

[PRAVDA correspondents' reports: "Who Is Turning Off the Tap?"]

[Text] Any shortage is bad. However, when a motor fuel shortage is at issue, sounding the loudest alarm is in order because this means idle equipment at harvest time, agony at construction sites, and disruptions in the supply system.... This spawns a multitude of problems in the most varied spheres of our life, which is difficult to begin with. Motor fuel is the blood of the economic organism of our country. Why then does it pulse so unevenly in the arteries and vessels? Where have the clots formed? How is this malady to be cured?

First, let us give the floor to our correspondents G. Lebanidze, T. Yesilbayev, V. Shalgunov, and volunteer correspondent N. Sytezhev.

Tbilisi

Due to disruptions in motor fuel supply, thousands of motor vehicles are idle in virtually all regions of Georgia, including the vehicles of the Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] of Georgia and the Minavtodortrans [Ministry of Highway Construction and Maintenance and Highway Transportation].

This is what the chairman of Goskomtoplivo [State Committee for Fuel Supply] of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], B. Lobzhanidze, said:

"The republic receives 85 percent of its gasoline from outside, and only 15 percent from the Batumi refinery. Hence it is understandable what enormous economic costs are entailed by disruptions in the chain of 'tank farms—consumers.' At times, trains carrying fuel even from areas as close as Baku and Makhachkala arrive here with a delay of several weeks.

"An alarming situation has emerged in the system of the agroindustrial complex. Vehicles used for transporting fruits and vegetables are idle due to the absence of fuel. Grape and fruit harvesting had to be delayed.

"The existing situation is particularly alarming for construction employees engaged in erecting hundreds of houses and cultural and service facilities for the inhabitants of the mountains of Adzharia and Svanetia, who have been left homeless by a natural disaster."

Moscow

Any motorist becomes nervous as he watches the fuel gauge crawl slowly toward the zero mark. After all, performing the simple operation of fueling up is as complicated on a deserted dirt road as it is in a busy city thoroughfare.

Recently the motorists of the capital city have been forced to line up for hours at gas stations. On occasion, lines consisting of dozens of cars form. People wait through the night hours for the type of gasoline they need to be brought in. They say the difficulties are explained by the fact that most tank trucks have been sent to areas where harvesting is in progress.

Gas Station No 44 at Khoroshevskoye Highway. Several gas pumps, a house under a mushroom-like roof, and... a meandering line of several dozen cars.

"We receive shipments of gasoline irregularly. We have to call the fuel storage site and the combine frequently and remind them about us. As soon as the fuel is delivered, a tremendous line forms," says the operator of Gas Station No 44, I. Yablokova.

Here is a fact of a different kind: Employees of the UBKhSS [Administration for Combating the Theft of Socialist Property] recently discovered, and the staff of the in-house KRU [Control and Audit Administration] confirmed, that at this very station, deliveries of gasoline at two pumps were 250 grams short for every 10 liters. They even had to close the gas station for a while. It is clear that dishonest people extract profit exactly from the shortage.

Kuybyshev

At the enterprises of the Kuybyshevnefteorgsintez Association, railroad employees are now being cursed loudly. The pumping of gasoline and diesel fuel by pipelines has been increased by 1.2 million tons in recent years, thus reducing the need for tank cars considerably. Nonetheless, the Kuybyshev Railroad continues to trip up its partners quite painfully. Annually it fails to haul away between 10 and 14 percent of the products planned. Last year this amounted to 1.3 million tons of various

refinery products. Numerous appeals to the railroad administration and the Ministry of Railways have produced no results.

The chief of the Volgotanker Shipping Line, N. Strokin says: "Serious miscalculations in delivery planning, failures to dovetail along the entire transportation conveyer are becoming apparent. Today we cannot unload more than 130,000 tons of fuel oil. Tankers and barges have turned into floating storage facilities. They sit for weeks and even months at the roadsteads of Volgograd, Yaroslavl, Kineshma, and other ports.

Alma-Ata

A cluster of cars around gas stations has become normal in our city these days. The drivers are parked for agonizing hours, which naturally inflicts direct losses on the national economy. Meanwhile, the problem with fuel has not developed solely through the fault of gasoline suppliers.

A driver of an Alma-Ata enterprise, M. Shakhpandyarov, told me with indignation: "We have been standing in place for several hours now, and we do not know when we are going to pick up fuel. The gas station is shut down because there is no electricity."

A team leader at the "Kuldzinskaya" Gas Station, M. Goncharova, admitted that power disruptions have occurred before. The substation feeding the gas pumps breaks down. However, the management of the Nefteproduktavtomatizatsiya Association and the Alma-Ata Electricity Distribution Grid Enterprise are apparently hardly bothered by this because they do not suffer losses due to the idle time of motor vehicles.

Disruptions in gasoline supply discredit in the eyes of the drivers the system of refinery product sales for so-called credit cards, which has generally proven itself. Incidentally, this system was implemented on a broad scale for the first time precisely at the gas stations of Alma-Ata. The system is based on the owners of state transportation vehicles dispensing fuel using credit cards without the participation of gas station employees. The new system deserves to be expanded throughout the country, but only on the condition that there will be enough fuel at the gas stations.

Commentary by the Department of Information

Thus, our reader, we are again on the subject of shortage. Meanwhile, the situation is unique: Our country produces more oil and gas condensate than anybody else in the world and exports it generously.

What is the problem? PRAVDA correspondent B. Pipiya put this question to various people in our country with responsibilities for fuel. In the opinion of USSR Deputy Minister of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry V. Popov, the aggravation of the shortage was due in great degree to a fire in the Omsknefteorgsintez Association because of which production had to be discontinued for 2 weeks. Scheduled repairs at the Pavlodar Refinery ran over the deadline. After an accident at the Mazheykyay Refinery, it has been impossible for a long time to start up the installation for producing light products. However, as the deputy minister explained, the main reason is found in the very poor transportation of fuel from the plants.

The number of irrational hauls of liquid fuel cargo has increased, as communicated by the First Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Goskomnefteprodukt [State Committee for Oil and Refinery Products], V. Kolesnikov. Thus, gas condensate from Central Asia is taken to the enterprises of Astrakhan and Krasnodar over a distance of 2,000 to 3,000 kilometers. Gasoline for export is delivered from the oil refinery enterprises in Fergana and Pavlodar over a distance of 5,000 kilometers. In a word, if the volume of irrational hauls in 1988 came to 9.8 million tons of liquid fuel cargo, in 1990 this statistic will come to 17.2 (!) million tons.

Recently the causes of disruptions in the delivery of motor fuels and lubricants to the country's agroindustrial complex were discussed at a meeting of the USSR Committee for People's Control. Among other things, it was noted there that the USSR Ministry of Railways has consistently failed to fulfill the plan for furnishing tank cars to be filled with fuel.

Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Goskomnefteprodukt N. Chinaryan, General Director of the Krasnoyarsknefteprodukt Association of the RSFSR Goskomnefteprodukt V. Shkurdalov, Chief of the Volga Railroad V. Chebotarev, and Chief of the Kuybyshev Railroad E. Poddavashkin were reprimanded for violations of state discipline expressed in the failure to fulfill the plan for the delivery of refinery products.

In a word, our central offices are supposedly paying attention to this problem. Collegiums are appointed, inspections are held, and reprimands are handed out generously. However, fuel is still in short supply. Could it be that now is the time to review the entire chain from the oil well to the gas station? Apparently the entire problem may be solved to a considerable degree just by putting this system in elementary order. After all, it is a great shame: We live literally on the bank of an oil river, but cannot quench our thirst for gasoline.

Foreign Trade Data To Be Made Public

LD2609090289 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] The Soviet Union has decided to make public the data on its external economic activity, classified so far, said a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, Teodorovich, at a briefing in Moscow. Last year foreign trade revenues made up almost R50 billion, he said. However, Todorovich said that the past few years saw a decline in Soviet foreign trade because of the

deteriorating state of affairs on the world market, where the prices of raw materials and many traditional Soviet export items had fallen.

Finance Minister on State Debt, Budget

LD2309172989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1750 GMT 23 Sep 89

["Topical Interview" program; interview with USSR Finance Minister V.S. Pavlov by N.S. Yakovchuk, deputy chief editor of EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA; date and place of interview not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Yakovchuk] Valentin Sergeyevich, a year ago when the state budget was passed, we heard for the first time that in our country spending would exceed revenue by over R120 billion. Earlier it had been considered that the state was fully covering its spending with its revenue. What size of deficit will we end the current year with, and—this is the main point—what is next year's budget geared to?

[Pavlov] Yes indeed, last year was altogether notable in the sense that in the economic sphere we had little good news—this news had been scrupulously concealed in the past. Well, on the one hand, it evidently became impossible to conceal the real state of affairs any more. And on the other hand, it is simply impossible to adopt fundamental measures to rectify the situation without recognizing the actual and real existing position; then people do not understand why and what they must do if they do not know what they are struggling against, what they have come up against, and if they also do not know the reasons. I think the measures we are taking this year will permit us to end the current year with a deficit of R92-95 billion. This is of course an improvement on what was passed at the Supreme Soviet session, but it is still a long way from what we need. Thus we must in these circumstances recognize that we are at the very beginning of the struggle against the inflation that has—I would say—been rapidly developing in our country in recent years.

So, for the following year, 1990, the government has undertaken a whole series of fundamental measures with regard to the national economy in order to ensure a reduction of the state budget deficit. Today we are tabling a draft state budget with a deficit of R60 billion. In this sense we believe that this is the upper limit, the maximum level, of the deficit we can allow ourselves for 1990, while bearing in mind principally at the same time our intention to achieve a reduction of this deficit during the implementation of the plan and budget. When we speak of a budget deficit, we must also bear in mind that our budget for 1990 has a basic social orientation. Thus, when we refer to the social orientation of our budget we mean quite specific things. We have in mind the struggle against inflation, and at the same time an increase in the relative proportion of social spending—that is spending on people, spending associated with their level of well-being—in the overall amount of spending. People's sociocultural needs will be provided for more fully. This spending is growing by R17 billion. This is essentially a fundamentally important policy aim, although of course many needs which we are not yet in a position to meet.

[Yakovchuk] Sixty billion is no small amount, is it? What methods do we intend to employ to combat it?

[Pavlov] You know, we believe that within the country, in circumstances of transition to economic methods of management, a pressing need has emerged to organize a financial market, a market in securities. We believe that cash flows should primarily be channelled horizontally between enterprises inside regions or between regions, but naturally on commercial principles, on a chargeable basis. We have in mind here that by using the financial market and the securities market, we can set down very strict demands, to the effect that if you need funds and you want to get hold of them, you will get them from another enterprise, on absolutely firm guarantees, that you will meet the requirements set by the organizations providing the loan. In addition, this will permit us to reinforce the process of regional economic links and the integration of enterprises.

[Yakovchuk] And who will act as guarantor of the bonds and stocks—enterprises or the state?

[Pavlov] There are different stocks and bonds here. There are stocks issued in the name of the state for all-union requirements; there are bonds that will be used in the name of the union republics for their republican needs; and there are, in the present case, treasury bonds that will be issued by the ministry of finance; and there are the stocks of the enterprise and the stocks of the collective. The whole of this market..[Pavlov changes thought] I don't have to hand yet today examples of bills of exchange, which we also intend should take their place in the country's monetary exchange. All these forms of managing the country's monetary resources must be strictly regulated and kept under supervision. As a result of this, all thse documents are subject to strict accounting, and they will be manufactured by the State Directorate for the Issue of State Notes of the USSR State Bank.

[Yakovchuk] People are very worried that every ruble they get in their pay has less and less real buying power. At the same time, it is a well-known fact that until recent months paper money has been put into circulation that has not been backed up by an equivalent amount of goods. When, in your estimation, are we going to be able to buck this negative trend? When is the ruble going to start acquiring full weight, so to speak?

[Pavlov] At the first stage it would evidently not be quite accurate to talk in terms of it acquiring full weight. Today we should no doubt talk in terms of stabilizing the ruble and ensuring that it stops shedding weight. That's how I'd put it. In this context we directly link questions of the state budget and its deficit with matters related to the fact that our ruble is shedding weight. As is well-known, in the first 6 months money issued, according to

our State Committee for Statistics, amounted to around R9 billion. We believe that in the second half of the year we shall manage to limit the issue of money to R7 billion. Obviously, this total of around R16 billion for the year is unacceptable to us for next year, and the projections that we are today tabling to the Supreme Soviet are geared to reducing the issue of cash to the level of R10 billion. But we regard this 10 billion—as in the case of the budget deficit—as the upper limit.

I mean that in theory our economy has real opportunities to get by with a lower amount in 1990, and somewhere toward the middle of 1991 we intend to stop the growth of cash in circulation and to stabilize the ruble, something that would be crucial toward performing the task you described. That is, it will begin to acquire weight, so to say. The struggle against inflation is a nationwide matter. It is essentially an indicator—rather like a thermometer—of the health of our economy. And we must all struggle for our health together. You can't have some people smashing things up and demolishing while others have to pick up the pieces. If that happens, we shall all be hard at work, but the result will be nil.

[Yakovchuk] Valentin Sergeyevich, I recall that there were proposals from the rostrum of the Congress of People's Deputies that our internal difficulties should be resolved by increasing our foreign debt. What is your attitude to this idea?

[Pavlov] What can I say, Nina Sergeyevna? At first, the idea is like sweet medicine to a child—it seems that you don't have to do anything, and at a stroke all your problems will be solved. But to my mind this is an idea which has absolutely no real foundation to it. First, we are a great power, after all. We have a population of 290 million. And no one except ourselves is going to feed us and provide us with clothes and shoes. We can only perform our own tasks ourselves—while using the international division of labor at the same time, of course. Altogether, to say that you can borrow without paying back—well, any housewife knows that things are not like that. They can give you the money on one occasion, but on the second occasion they will ask when you are going to repay the debt.

From the viewpoint of real interstate or business relations, it is a well known fact that no one is in the business of philanthropy in international organizations and in dealings between countries, particularly capitalist ones. One could cite dozens of examples when following an application for assitance; the first thing that is raised is the terms on which you will get the loan. The terms which you must meet beforehand in order for you to get the assistance will be dictated without fail. This is obvious. But, roughly speaking, even if you take a medium-term 5-year credit, you have to bear in mind that you are going to have to give back at least 1.5 times as much as you took in the first place. So it is like a boost of oxygen which in the very near future could turn into serious asphyxia, which our economy might not be able to withstand.

I think that not only does our national pride not allow us to go the way of underdeveloped countries, but there are no grounds for it at all. That is why I believe that it does not befit our country to take out loans in order to tackle what is essentially a short-term task, something which would result in the same task returning within the shortest space of time in the form of a geometrical progression.

Agricultural

National Harvest Progress, Problems Reviewed

18240240 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Sep 89 p 1

[Report by N. Osychkin: "Autumn Hastens"]

[Text] The breath of autumn can be felt everywhere. And the country's farmers still face an enormous amount of work. According to the USSR State Committee for Statistics, by 11 September, the grain and leguminous crops (not including corn) had been harvested from 95.9 million hectares, and threshed from 94.8 million, 90 percent of the planted area. Last week, grain was harvested from 7.7 million hectares. Grain, ear, and leguminous crops from 8.5 million hectares remain to be threshed, primarily from the fields of Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Urals, and a number of regions of the Non-Chernozem zones of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

While in the Altayskiy Kray, the harvest has practically come to an end, in Irkutsk Oblast, only one-fifth of the crops have been threshed, and in the Tuva ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], somewhat over one-tenth. Farms in Buryatia and Chita are only beginning the important work, even though frosts are already being felt in the region. In Kazakhstan, the harvest has been carried out on over 21 million hectares; this is 92 percent of the planted area.

The most important thing now is to mobilize all efforts toward full completion of the harvest, even in the sectors with poor growth which have suffered drought, and to increase the wholesale gathering and preparation of the grain in the state reserves. Thus far, the farms have sold the grain of slightly over half of the state order. Marketability is 28 percent. The Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], 14 RSFSR oblasts and autonomous republics and 7 Ukrainian SSR republics have fulfilled the state order for grain sale. The farms of Belgorod and Amur Oblasts, and Khabarovskiy Kray have recently met their obligations. Tula and Vladimir Oblasts are close to that. The kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] of the Altayskiy Kray realized over 1.3 million metric tons of grain, and those of the Orenburg area, 1.2 million metric tons.

At the same time, it must be noted that grain has accumulated on the threshing floor in a number of areas; its shipment to grain elevators has been held back for

various reasons. This concerns particularly the farms of Saratov, Ulyanovsk, and Kuybyshev Oblasts, and Mary and Chuvash ASSRs. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Novosibirsk, Tomsk, and Tyumen Oblasts are not participating in the sale of grain. Even though they also suffered from drought, the grain output here is no worse than last year's, and the harvest is already drawing to a close.

A total of 62 percent of the wheat sold is to the state for state order. Implementing an account of counter-trade in machines and materials in short supply, as well as hard currency, can increase supply to state reserves. The contracted amounts of rye and millet have practically been met. Rice harvesting has begun in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, the Kuban, and the southern Ukraine, which will noticeably fill out the foodstuffs reserves.

Corn has been threshed on the first 240,000 hectares. Each of those hectares yields 35.3 quintals of grain. The harvest is being held back due to poor combine operation, and a lack of spare parts for them. In the Ukraine alone, this is why 1,700 combines are not taking part in the work. Corn remains to be harvested from 1 million hectares. Surely the corn cobs will not be left in the fields because of the sluggishness of the enterprises of the Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building and other departments?

Sunflowers have been threshed from 420,000 hectares. The state has been supplied with 365 metric tons of oilseed, somewhat more than at this same time last year. Some 295,000 metric tons of raw cotton has been gathered. The work has been held back because of the late harvest and slow boll opening. Flax has been gathered from 95 percent of the harvest area, but for now, 145,000 metric tons has been prepared, 35 percent of the state order.

The foundation of the future harvest is being laid. Winter crops have been sown over 20.4 million hectares, 3.2 million hectares less than by this same time last year. Optimal planting periods are under way in Bryansk, Tula, Kaluga, Smolensk, and Tambov Oblasts, and the Mordva ASSR, although here the work has not been completed on 13-22 percent of the area. The autumn plowing has been done over 33.5 million hectares, some 5.5 million hectares less than last year. The farms of Stavropol, Voronezh, and Volgograd Oblasts lag behind.

The pace of work in several regions is being held back by a failure to observe fuel and lubrication materials supply schedules in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In the last 2 months villages have been undersupplied with diesel fuel by 412,000 metric tons, and gasoline by 87,000 tons. The farms of the Ukraine, Kirghizia, Georgia, and other republics began autumn's work schedule with minimal fuel reserves. Supplemental measures are needed on the part of the provisions organs in order to overcome the lag in the fuel supply. Equipment must not stand idle in the field during this crucial time.

Time hastens. Every autumn hour goes toward completing the harvest, and creating a solid foundation for the harvest in the field of 1990.

September Weather, Crop Status Reported

18240239a Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 14 Sep 89 p 1

[Report by N. Korenkova, agrometeorologist: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Weather warmer than usual predominated in the Northern Caucasus, the majority of the Central Chernozem, and the Povolzhye regions. It then turned cooler. Kernel ripeness came to the corn within a time frame close to the long-standing average in Moldavia, the Ukraine's southern and central oblasts, and the northern Caucasus. Milky corn ripeness was observed in the remaining areas.

The cool, rainy weather which was observed during the last 10-day period in the majority of regions where corn is cultivated for grain has not favored completion of grain ripening and maturation. Conditions were especially unfavorable in the Southwest region and Moldavia, where air moisture content was very high during the entire 10-day period. Conditions for grain ripening and maturation were good in the eastern Central Chernozem region and in the Lower Povolzhye. In the European part of the country, corn harvesting at the milky and waxy ripeness stages was begun in the zone where it is cultivated for silage.

Conditions for agricultural crop harvesting were favorable in the eastern Northern Caucasus region, the majority of the territory of Belorussia, the Central Chernozem, Northwest, and Volga-Vyatka regions, the Baltic republics, in the Central and Povolzhye regions.

Conditions for harvesting corn, sugar beets, potatoes, and other late agricultural crops were unfavorable in the Ukraine, Moldavia, the majority of the territory of the Northern Caucasus region, Gomel, Kursk, Belgorod, and Voronezh Oblasts and Karelian ASSR. Rains which had fallen for 4-7 days moistened the upper layer of soil excessively, complicating the operation of agricultural equipment.

In the Northwestern, Northern, Central, and Volga-Vyatka regions, conditions for the winter cereal crops' rooting, growth, and development were favorable. The sowings of later periods were in the shoot and third-leaf phases. As a result of the dry weather, conditions for cereal crop rooting and development worsened somewhat in the majority of the Ural territory, in the northern Povolzhye, and in the southern Volga-Vyatka regions. Winter crops sown in late August-early September were in the shoot and third-leaf phase in the Baltics, Belorussia, and the Central Chernozem region.

In the Ukraine, Moldavia, and the Northern Caucasus, the rains which fell (20-40 millimeters, with 70-100

millimeters locally in the southern Ukraine) significantly supplemented the productive moisture reserves of the fields designated for planting to winter cereal crops (30-40 millimeters was held within the plowed layer of soil). Conditions were favorable for sowing winter cereal crops.

Dry weather was noted in Western Siberia and the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan. Harvesting of summer cereal and other agricultural crops was conducted under good weather conditions. In those regions, frosts were observed almost everywhere, which could cause damage to potatoes dug up but not yet taken from the fields. Winter crops in the basic areas are in the shoot and third-leaf phase.

In the majority of the territory of the Central Asian republics and southern Chimkent Oblast, the average air temperature was 2-3 degrees lower than the long-standing average, which retarded boll formation and opening slightly. Conditions were favorable for raw cotton picking and defoliation.

Roundup of Harvest Reports Presented

18240239b Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Sep 89 p 1

[TASS report: "Fall in the Countryside"]

[Text]**Krasnoyarsk—The farmers of Krasnoyarskiy Kray have completed the winter grain threshing from the first million hectares, one-half of the harvest area.**

The winter rye is already in the granaries. Each of its 50,000 hectares yielded 30 quintals. Nature has presented the farmers with an exceptionally bountiful autumn. The Yenisey meridian enjoys clear, sunny days.

Kurgan—The harvest season is ending in the oblast's cornfields.

The Kurgan machine operators laid in 2 million metric tons of silage for livestock farms. Plantings of the basic feed crop suffered badly from the summer heat. In the majority of rayons, there was no rain for 80-100 days. According to weather forecasters, the current drought is the most severe in half a century. However, thanks to the advancing level of farming science and the broad introduction of cereal crop equipment to corn cultivation, on the average, each hectare yields 150 quintals of green mass with ripe ears.

Ordzhonikidze—The season of sunflower seed preparation has begun in the farms of Northern Ossetia.

Combined mechanized subdivisions work in the fields of the steppes and foothills. They organized labor along brigade lines, emphasizing large-group utilization of equipment. This will enable them to gather the harvest quickly, eliminating losses.

Frunze—The farmers of the Issyk-kul area have begun winter crop sowing.

In all areas, preference is being shown for the high-yield, regionalized types of grain, in particular, "Issyk-kul 1" wheat, developed by the scientists of the local genetic-experimental station. Well-adapted to the alpine areas, it resists lodging, has an enhanced ear kernel yield, and has excellent baking qualities. During the type-testing competition, this innovation exceeded the "Bezostuyu 1" yield by 14 quintals of grain per hectare.

Agricultural Developments for 22-24 Sep Reported

LD2609022189

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 22-24 September, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

22 September

Seven oblasts out of 17 in Kazakhstan have overfulfilled their plan for the sowing of winter crops. This year they have been sown on 250,000 hectares more than last year. (0600)

The farmers of Aktyubinsk Oblast today fulfilled the state order for sales of grain. They sent to the elevators more than 800,000 tonnes of grain. (1000)

23 September

Mass sowing of winter crops has begun in Moldavia. The sowing of winter crops has also started in the Kabarda-Balkar region. (1500)

24 September

The sowing of winter crops has begun today in Northern Ossetiya, and the average harvest of grain was 30 quintels per hectare. This autumn the area given to strong, hard and valuable varieties of wheat using intensive techniques is being increased. (1400)

In the Magadan Oblast the potato harvest is good, and although less than 200,000 hectares is given to potatoes in Kolyma, the harvest there will make it possible to make good the non-delivery of the flood-hit maritime kray potatoes. (1400)

The agricultural workers in Vladimir Oblast delivered the final tonnes of grain to the state warehouses today. (no figures provided) (1500)

The sowing of winter crops has begun in North Ossetiya. Leasing cooperatives are now processing about 80 percent of grain crops in the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. (1500)

Scientific

Cosmonauts Continue 'Mir' Space Experiments

Experiments in Radiation, Astronomy

LD2209100689 Moscow TASS in English 0954 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—By Tass correspondent at Mission Control Centre:

Another week in the space flight of Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov is nearing completion.

The flight programme of the past two days included giving preventive treatment to the Mir station's onboard equipment, as well as astrophysical and medical research.

The cosmonauts have also carried out a series of experiments to measure ionising space radiation along the spacecraft's flight-path and observed meteorological processes in the Earth's atmosphere.

The cosmonauts have also begun a research programme on space astronomy, taking ultra-violet pictures of the sky with a Glazar telescope placed in the Kvant module. Today they will continue these astrophysical experiments using Glazar.

According to the recent medical check-up, Viktorenko and Serebrov are in good health.

The flight is proceeding according to plan.

Crew Begins New Astrophysical Experiments

LD2309045389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2130 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] The Soviet crew on board the Mir orbital complex has started a new series of astrophysical experiments. With the aid of the Glazar telescope mounted on the Kvant module, Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov have been photographing the celestial sky in the ultraviolet specter. This research is being carried out as part of the international program drawn up by our scientists in conjunction with colleagues from the FRG, the Netherlands, Britain, Switzerland, and also the European Space Agency. This is the third week of the crew's flight. Soon the cosmonauts will receive a new scientific laboratory, an add-on equipment module.

Technological, Biological Tests Continue

LD2509060189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] On board the Mir scientific research complex, another work week is starting. Today the crew will be busy servicing the onboard systems and the station's equipment. Technical experiments are planned. In the program of biological research the cosmonauts will carry out established operations in the space greenhouse (?Vazon). According to information from the crew and telemetric data, the flight is going according to the planned program. Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov are feeling well.

Soviet-FRG Space Project Praised at News Briefing

LD2309155589 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—The descent capsule of the space vehicle 'Resource-F' landed 105 km south-west of Aktyubinsk, Kazakhstan, at 11 hours ten minutes a.m. Moscow time, September 22. It brought to Earth a unique cargo: 104 samples containing over a thousand crystals of different substances which will be used in pharmacology. The Soviet-West German Cosima-2 project has been a success. It was held within a very brief time: A few months passed since the beginning of the negotiations about the flight.

A news conference for Soviet and Foreign journalists, held at the Glavkosmos civilian space programme administration today, was devoted to the results of the space mission.

Journalists have been told that the first commercial deal between the West German Intospace company and the Glavkosmos of the USSR was concluded on easy terms: Such is the advantage granted by the Soviet side to its business partners. The September flight to outer space aboard a Soviet space vehicle of a unit designed under the Cosima-2 project, cost West German scientists and businessmen cheaper than any of the four flights will cost in 1990. An agreement on that was signed at the Glavkosmos of the USSR today. Intospace representatives noted the high professional skill of Soviet specialists and reliability of space facilities. Both sides plan to develop cooperation also after 1990.

"The "hold-up" in the American space shuttle flight queue does not suit us", J Lippe, Intospace company president, said. "Besides, the American side provides only up to 10 days to work in orbit, while the Russians give as much time as needed for research to be done. In this case, the flight that began on September 6, was optimal in time. We have done all that was envisaged by the programme. 18 different substances, obtained in weightlessness conditions and the crystals grown, are an important contribution to pharmacology, a major step in medical research," he said.

"Cooperation with the Soviet side has a number of advantages the main of which have been repeatedly noted: Fastness and reliability in attaining results," Lippe stressed.

Space Facility Declassified; History Given

18660219 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 89 p 1

[V. Umnov reportage: "The Secret at Fili"]

[Text] Moscow—Even though I lived there I never thought that they would make space vehicles so close to my home. And in Moscow, just 20 minutes away from the Kremlin!

But according to the legends of Fili Ferris wheel in the amusement never worked precisely for this reason: Who knows what one might see from the top!

"Well, evidently someone decided to ascribe his own shortcomings to us," asserts the director of the "secret project," Anatoliy Ivanovich Kiselev. "If you want to, you can see rather more from the top of the high-rise building next door. And today you don't even have to jump up and down: Please, come on in and take a look...."

And there are certainly things to see. I would organize an excursion there. And I would first of all show not what they have built here, but how they have built it. Accurately. Cleanly. Exactly....

In 1916 at a price of 10 million gold rubles, the widow of the merchant Shalaputin gave up this plot of land in Fili to the well-known "Russo-Balt" Society—the very same that in Riga was producing an automobile of the same name. In 1920 the plan produced the first Soviet automobiles—five of them.

In 1927 the plant was given as a concession to the Junkers aircraft firm. It started to produce Soviet planes before the war.

Since the 1960's the plant has been operated mainly for the Ministry of Defense, producing launch vehicles [rakety]. And also space vehicles and satellites.

Several months ago the Ministry of General Machine Building machine-building plant imeni M.V. Khrunichev was declassified.

"If only you knew how difficult it was: You come home from work and you cannot tell your children or your wife why you were delayed; you could not boast about the new orbital station, for example," Anatoliy Ivanovich acknowledged. "It was a pity that no one even knew the people who were developing the equipment."

In the first section they weld the frames, while in the second they assemble them, and in the third section test them. In some places the metal is machined down to an accuracy of minutes of an arc.

When you hear these stories and see the people in their white coveralls today, working on the space modules (everything round about is as clean as if just freshly enameled), you involuntarily compare it to what you have encountered in regular factories (and a whole newspaper column would not be long enough to list all the faults). And you begin to think: This means that we can.

And again the question inevitably arises: But they probably never had any needs with regard to money, did they? Not for the routes from Earth and out into the distances of space.

"Yes, just wait a moment," argues L. Borisov, chief of the test-monitoring station. "Take, for example, the technological module—it is already prepared and early next year will be sent off to dock with the 'Mir.' We shall be able to produce three kilograms of insulin on it each year. But we need kilograms a year to help all the Soviet children suffering from diabetes mellitus."

"And then they tell us that one-fourth of plant capacity is given over to the production of consumer goods and civilian output, bicycles and sledges for children, and ski poles and saucepans and garden sheds and kitchen cabinets."

"But, you understand, with our facilities and experience we have simply become involved wastefully in making small items," director Kiselev interposes. "We selected two main directions for conversion, namely the ecology and medicine."

"Nevertheless, no matter what we may say about reorientation, space is still space. And without being involved in the latest discoveries we shall not be able to keep up to speed. Now, for example, the plant imeni Khrunichev is ready to engage in Martian problems and develop a vehicle for an interplanetary expedition."

"And this is how things stand with Mars at present," Chief of the USSR Main Space Administration Aleksandr Ivanovich Dunayev told us. "We ask for money to conduct a preliminary substantiation of the principles for such a mission. There are several possible scenarios. There are proposals for automatic missions: Launches are possible in 1994, 1998 and 2001. Other countries are also interested in this. But the question of funding for unmanned, let alone manned programs has not been decided. Perhaps a decision will be made at the upcoming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet."

"Nevertheless, how did you manage to hide such bulky things," I try to find out. For it seems to me that it would be impossible not to notice them when they were being moved out.

It turns out that everything was very simple. After half a year of testing, on average, on the "Proton" launch vehicle was again dismantled, loaded onto railroad trains and away to the cosmodrome. So that it could be assembled once again and again scrupulously tested.

"Why such waste? Why such secrecy?"

"For reliability."

P.S. If you have any questions for the leaders of the "secret project" they are ready to provide answers. They assured us that today there are no secrets at the plant.

Military

'Pranks' Spark Military Depot Fire; Four Injured

PM2509100989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Dispatch by Aleksandr Solovyev: "Explosions at Depot"]

[Text] Kemerovo Oblast—On the night of 21-22 September Yurga City unexpectedly found itself under fire.

It all began with the pranks of servicemen painting military depots. As a result of their playing with fire, acetone fumes caught fire. The blaze took hold of the depots, and dozens of shells exploded from them. Most of them flew to the firing range, but the city was also hit.

"We were obliged urgently to evacuate people from the microrayon adjacent to the military unit," says Ye. Teplyakov, chairman of the Yurga City Soviet Executive Committee. "We transported more than 20,000 people from one end of the city to the other. Since morning, sappers have been collecting shells in the city. They have already found over 50. Fortunately they were "dummies," that is shells without explosive...."

A fireman and three servicemen were seriously injured. There have been thefts in the apartments abandoned by citizens. Four looters have been arrested.

A defense ministry commission has flown to Yurga. The city is gradually recovering.